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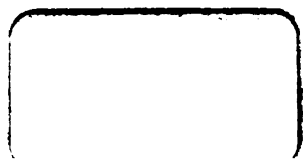
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THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND,
FROM THE
EARLIEST PERIOD,
TO THE CLOSE OF THE YEAR 1812.

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VOL. II.
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BY J. BIGLAND,

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HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

HENRY VIII.

HENRY VIII. ascended the throne of England with every possible advantage. He was eighteen years of age, beautiful in person, expert in all the polite exercises, perfectly skilled in music, and a proficient in the learning of the times, being conversant in the aristotelian philosophy and school divinity, which were then the studies chiefly pursued in the universities. Being by the father's side descended from the house of Lancaster, and by the mother's from the house of York, all factions were extinguished, and all divisions were united in his person. His prudent predecessor had left him a peaceable kingdom, able ministers, and a well-stored treasury. But with all these fortunate circumstances and brilliant talents Henry wanted the two chief requisites, wisdom and virtue, and never did the accession of any monarch promise a greater or produce a less portion of public felicity.

The first act of injustice, that marked his reign, was extremely agreeable to the people. This was the prosecution of the two rapacious commissioners, Empsom and Dudley, whom his father had appointed to inquire into cases of treason, and to levy fines in proportion to the offence. Their conduct was strictly examined; but as it appeared that although they had stretched the laws to the utmost point, all their proceedings had been authorized by the king's warrant, they could not be legally convicted. But as the people demanded and the court determined their destruction, a false charge was exhibited: they were accused of plotting against the new king, and were condemned and executed for that forged crime.

Though Henry was, according to the notions of that age, a good theologian, he was a bad politician. Italy had long been a theatre of political discord; but since the days of Henry III. the kings of England had avoided intermeddling with the affairs of a country so remote from their dominions and so little connected with their interests. Henry VIII. suffered the Pope, Julius II. Ferdinand, king of Arragon, and the emperor Maximilian, to draw him into a league to expel the French from Italy, after which they

were to assist him, with all their forces, to recover Guienne and Normandy. The failure of so many attempts upon France had not yet cured the English of their rage for foreign conquests. Henry resolved to carry his arms into that kingdom, and hoped to rival the fame of his most illustrious predecessors. A romantic leader will always find romantic followers. The design of the king was applauded by his subjects. A parliament was

Nov. 4th,
A. D. 1512. called, and the commons readily granted a subsidy and a poll-tax.

Julius II. dying at this juncture, his successor, Leo X. entered into his measures; and a new treaty was concluded on the former basis. The Pope, the emperor, and the king of Arragon, were to pour their armies from Italy and Spain into France, while the king of England, who was to furnish his allies, particularly the Emperor, with a considerable sum of money for carrying on the war, was to make an attack on Picardy and Normandy. Henry immediately prepared for his expedition, and passed over to Calais,

A. D. 1513. expecting a powerful support; but

all the aid that he received was a bull from the Pope, granting a plenary indulgence to those who should assist him with their persons or purses in carrying on the war against

France. Louis XII. at the same time formed an alliance with the Venetians, and marched the greatest part of his troops into Italy.* This Italian expedition of Louis favoured the operations of the English monarch, who captured Terouenne and Tournay almost without resistance.

While Henry was thus employed on the continent, James IV. king of Scotland, seized the opportunity of invading his dominions. It was extremely impolitic in that prince to violate, without necessity, a peace which was so advantageous to his kingdom. But the counsellors and favourites of James were the pensioners of France; and Lamottre, the ambassador of Louis, having influenced the Scottish parliament, that assembly agreed, with the king, in resolving on a war against England. James entered Northumberland with a formidable army, but in aspiring to conquest he rushed on his fate. The English were commanded by the earl of Surrey,† whom Henry, at his departure for France, had constituted lieutenant of the northern counties. A sanguinary conflict took place

* For these treaties, &c. vide Guicciard. lib. 9, 10, &c. P. Dabiel, tom. 7th. Hen. Ab. Chrou. ad an. 1510, &c.

† He was son of the duke of Norfolk who was slain at the battle of Bosworth. He was restored to the title of earl of Surrey by Henry VII. Dugd. Baron, 2. p. 266, &c.

at Flodden, where the Scottish monarch, with one archbishop, two bishops, four abbots, twelve earls, and seventeen barons, with eight or ten thousand common soldiers, fell on the field of battle.* The loss of the English was also very considerable.

But historians, as usual on similar occasions, differ exceedingly in their accounts of the numbers of slain and the particulars of the action.†

The fruit of Henry's campaign in France was an useless conquest and an empty triumph. He had borne the chief part of the expence of the war, and would have been the principal sufferer, had not the absence of the French army in Italy left him to act almost without opposition. He had been completely the dupe of his allies, who being solely attentive to their own particular concerns, were wholly regardless of his interests. They knew that although he had little understanding or experience in politics, he possessed an opulent treasury: they were adepts in political science; money was all that they wanted; and

* Tindals notes on Raptin, l. p. 724.

† Dr. Robertson says, that James was followed by as gallant an army as ever any of his ancestors had led into England, and that twelve earls, thirteen lords, five eldest sons of noblemen, and an incredible number of barons fell with the king, but makes no mention of the ecclesiastics nor of the number of private soldiers that were slain. Vide Hist. Scotland, vol. 1. book 1. p. 70 and 71.

they could not have met with a more convenient ally.

On the termination of the campaign Henry returned to England, in order to dissipate, in more peaceful follies, the treasures amassed by his father for very different purposes. Nothing was thought of but mirth and diversions, and so easily are the eyes of the people dazzled by trifles, that rejoicings were made as if he had returned from the conquest of France. The Pope also, considering that he might still need his assistance, contributed to flatter his self-conceit. He sent him a hat and a sword consecrated on Christmas-day, a present which the sovereign pontiffs usually made to princes or generals who had obtained some signal victory over the enemies of the church. Amidst these frivolous demonstrations of regard to the king, a parliament was called, in which little attention was paid to public business. Henry, however, had the generosity to reward a man whose services to the state greatly exceeded his own. He gave to the earl of Surrey the title of duke of Norfolk, which his father had lost with his life at the battle of Bosworth. Charles Brandon was also created duke of Suffolk, and the king shewed his magnanimity by conferring on Margaret of York, sister to the earl of

Warwick, who was beheaded by Henry VII. the title of countess of Sarum.*

At this time the famous cardinal Wolsey began to make a conspicuous figure on the political theatre. This person, whose high elevation and sudden fall have been commemorated by historians and poets, was the son of a private gentleman of Ipswich. Being sent to Oxford, at an early age, he made so rapid a progress in his studies that at fourteen he took the degree of bachelor. After leaving college he was presented to the rectory of Lymington, in Somersetshire, by the marquis of Dorset, whose sons he had instructed. His morals seemed not to have corresponded with his literary acquirements or his sacred profession; for he had not resided long at his living before he was set in the stocks for being drunk and raising disturbances at a country fair. This disgrace, however, did not retard his promotion. He was appointed to the rectory of Bedgrave, and held, at the same time, that of Lymington and the vicarage of Lyde, in Kent. Having insinuated himself into the favour of the bishop of Winchester, minister of Henry VII. he was sent on an embassy to the emperor Maximilian. His

* For the genealogies of these persons vide Dugdale's *Baron*, vol. 2. p. 308, &c.

extraordinary dispatch on this occasion, and the manner in which he had transacted the business of his mission, gave great satisfaction to the king, who rewarded his abilities and diligence with the deanry of Lincoln. Soon after the accession of Henry VIII. the bishop of Winchester seeing his own influence on the decline, began to devise means for supplanting the earl of Surrey, his rival. For this purpose, he introduced at court Wolsey, dean of Lincoln, with whose talents he was not unacquainted, and procured him the office of Almoner, not doubting that when once placed near the king's person, he should soon find the way to his favour.

The progress of Wolsey justified the calculations of his patron, and even surpassed his expectations. He was at once insinuating and enterprising: he sung, laughed, and danced, with every libertine of the court; and the levity of his behaviour, though inconsistent with his clerical character, was perfectly adapted to the taste of his sovereign. Weak and indolent princes are always ruled by favourites; and Wolsey being made prime minister, governed both the king and the kingdom according to his pleasure.

Henry being at length convinced by Louis XII. of the little dependence that he

could have on his allies, concluded a treaty of peace with that monarch. The principal articles were the marriage of Louis with Mary, the sister of Henry, and the payment of the arrears due from France to the crown of England.* Thus, as a judicious historian observes, a war for which the ostensible pretext was the glory of God and the interests of religion, was terminated by a treaty, which stipulated only the payment of money, without any mention of religion, the Pope, or the church.

Europe never exhibited a more active scene of political intrigue than during this reign. Louis XII. of France, died on the 1st January, 1515, and was succeeded by Francis I. who also inherited the views of his predecessor on Italy; and the contests between the French monarch and the Emperor Charles V. kept all the European cabinets in a state of perpetual alarm and agitation. The English nation had little to hope and as little to fear from the convulsions of the continent; but the ambition and intriguing spirit of the minister, involved the king in the intricate labyrinth of foreign politics.

* The arrears of the sums stipulated by Louis XI. of France to Edward IV. of England. Hen. Ab. Chron. an. 1478 and confirmed by Charles VIII. to Henry VII. and the treaty of Hesdayes an. 1495, with some other debts.

The insinuating talents of Wolsey had procured him an entire ascendancy over his sovereign, and raised him to the highest pitch of greatness to which a subject could aspire. He was all-powerful in England, and his friendship was courted by all the sovereigns of Europe, especially by the king of France and the Emperor. Francis procured him from Rome, a cardinal's hat; but Wolsey aspired to something still higher: he directed his views to the pontificate; and Charles being elected emperor, seemed more likely to raise him to the chair of St. Peter. The cardinal, therefore, began to disengage Henry from his connexions with France, and to attach him to the interests of the emperor. The negotiations and intrigues in which the cabinet of London was at this time engaged, had no national object. The king saw only with the eyes, and heard only with the ears of Wolsey; and every political measure was calculated to promote the private views of the minister.

The circumstances of Europe at this period were extremely favourable to Wolsey, Francis and Charles being about to prepare for their grand contest, were equally desirous of procuring the alliance of the king of England, who was able to cast the balance to either

side as he pleased; and they knew that all his measures were directed by the will of his minister. An interview being projected between Henry and Francis, Wolsey entered into a secret negotiation with the emperor. On this occasion, Charles came into England, where he remained some time, and after several conferences with the king and the minister proceeded into Flanders.

A. D. 1520.

Henry immediately after passed over to Calais, and had an interview with Francis. Every thing was regulated by the cardinal, who well knew the taste of the two monarchs. The romantic spirit of chivalry reigned through the whole: nothing was seen but entertainments, tournaments, balls, masquerades, and other diversions, in which the two courts mixed with mutual satisfaction. During five successive days, the two kings of England and France, with fourteen assistants, defied and encountered all comers, and obtained great applause; and such was the magnificence of the scene, that the place where it was displayed, between Ardres and Guisnes, acquired the name of "Champs de drap d'or," the field of cloth of gold.*

These chivalrous entertainments were perfectly agreeable to Henry, and not less to

* For a description of this scene, which so strikingly displays the taste of that age, see Hall, p. 72, &c. Fleuranges, &c.

Francis; and the two kings parted with mutual professions of perpetual friendship. Henry then proceeded to Gravelines to visit the Emperor, who returned him the compliment at Calais, where he remained with him three days, and by his recommendation to the Pope, procured for Wolsey the revenues of the bishopric of Badajoz, and a pension of two thousand ducats on that of Palencia.*

Wolsey had now attained the summit of his fortune. He was at once a cardinal, archbishop of York, and papal legate, with extraordinary powers. He enjoyed the revenues of the rich abbey of St. Alban's, and also of several bishoprics. He was likewise lord chancellor and prime minister, and disposed every thing both in church and state. The archbishop of Canterbury, himself, was not exempt from his legantine authority, which enabled him to summon all the bishops to his convocation; to appoint all officers in the spiritual courts, to present to all ecclesiastical benefices, and to exercise a visitorial power over monasteries, colleges, and the whole body of the clergy. In consequence of this extensive authority, he intended to make the monasteries the subject of an inquisitorial

* In Spain.

visit, in order to discover their corruptions, and justify their suppression. That the cardinal had formed the design of suppressing the greater part of the religious houses, is certain, although other affairs prevented him from carrying it into execution.* But, it must be observed, that this plan of the cardinal of York, was the foundation on which the king himself afterwards proceeded, and it, indeed, might seem both to suggest and sanction the measure. The pride of Wolsey was equal to his power: he celebrated mass in the same manner as the Pope himself, being served by bishops, while earls and dukes lighted the candles, gave the water and towel, and performed the other offices of acolythists. Whenever he appeared in public, two crosses, the ensigns of his legantine and archiepiscopal functions, were carried before him by two of the tallest priests that could be found, mounted on the largest horses; and he never stirred abroad without a princely retinue. The people who are always dazzled with shew, might have viewed, without regret, this extraordinary magnificence. But the tyranny of the cardinal of York was severely felt by the clergy, who had the mortification of seeing at London

* Burnet, Hist. Ref. 1. p. 20.

a pope more imperious and arbitrary than he who reigned at Rome.

Though the king was blind to the faults of his favourite, the case was far different with the courtiers. But the fate of the duke of Buckingham shewed them the danger of speaking their thoughts. This nobleman happened to say, that in case the king should die without issue, he had a right to the succession, and that if it should ever be his fortune to ascend the throne, he would punish the cardinal according to his deserts. This threat was, by an informer, reported to Wolsey, who soon caused the duke to be accused of treason. The substance of his impeachment was, that he had consulted a fortune-telling monk,* on the subject of the succession, and endeavoured to make himself popular. All the peers of the realm had a right to assist at the trial; but, by the manœuvres of the cardinal, there were present only one duke, one marquis, seven earls, and twelve barons, of whom he appears to have secured the majority. Before this tribunal, the duke of Buckingham was condemned for treason, and soon after beheaded on a scaffold. Every just man must

* The prior of the Carthusian monastery of Hinton. Hall, p. 85,

feel the highest indignation at such an unmerited punishment,—a nobleman put to death for expressing his dislike of a wicked minister. It is the cruelty and injustice of inflicting punishment without guilt, and not the number of executions that stamps on a reign the character of tyranny.

A. D. 1522. Henry having been instigated by his minister to declare an unjust and impolitic war against France, did not think it proper to call a parliament or to demand a subsidy. Money, however, was to be raised, and the cardinal being the author of the war, it was his business to provide the means for carrying it on with vigour. The expedient which he devised was to order the sheriffs, of every county, to make a survey, somewhat resembling that made by William the Conqueror, and to send in a list of the names of all persons above the age of sixteen, with an account of their property in land and goods.* After which he imposed a loan of one-tenth on the lay subjects and of one-fourth on the clergy. This arbitrary taxation met with so great opposition from the people, that, in order to prevent a general insurrection, only a part of the loan was levied by

* Stowe, p. 515.

a gentle composition, and its product fell very short of the minister's calculation.

The disappointment which Wolsey experienced on this occasion, was trifling in comparison of the mortification which he felt in being deceived in his views on the papacy. Leo X. having departed this life in the month of December, the preceding year, Wolsey relied on the influence of the emperor to raise him to the chair of St. Peter. But Charles knew him too well to suppose that such a pope would be guided by his counsels. He therefore procured the election of cardinal Adrien, of Utrecht, who had been his preceptor and was wholly devoted to his interests. But although he had managed the affair with the greatest dexterity and secrecy, Wolsey was too penetrating not to perceive the cheat. He resolved, however, not to shew his resentment, but to continue on friendly terms with the emperor till another vacancy, which the age and infirmities of the new Pope indicated to be at no great distance. The emperor, on his part, was no less desirous of preserving the friendship of the king of England and his minister. On his return from Germany to Spain, he resolved to pay them a visit; and having embarked in Flanders he landed at Dover, where he was re-

ceived by the cardinal with a magnificent train, composed of earls, knights and gentlemen, bishops, abbots, and chaplains, all clothed in velvet and satin; besides seven hundred yeomen. The king coming soon

June 6th,
A. D. 1522. after, conducted him to London where he was received with all the

respect due to imperial majesty. The cardinal celebrated high mass before the two monarchs, and forgot not to shew his grandeur, being assisted by several bishops, and served by dukes. Charles V. having resided some time at London, was invited to Windsor, where he was installed knight of the garter.

But that which gave him the greatest satisfaction was the conclusion of a treaty of alliance with Henry against Francis; and after a stay of about five weeks he departed for Spain, well pleased with his reception in England.

In consequence of this treaty the two monarchs joined their forces against France. An English army of about thirteen thousand men was placed under the command of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, who having landed at

Sept. 20th,
A. D. 1523. Calais, was joined by a body of imperialists. Their combined force

amounted to about thirty thousand foot and six thousand horse; but their operations were of too little importance to merit detail; and

the particulars of the war, carried on between Charles and Francis in Italy, are not to be considered as a part of English history.*

The great business of the cardinal was to provide for the expences of the war. The vast treasures accumulated by Henry VII. were already exhausted by empty pageantry, guilty pleasures, or vain negotiations, and the extraordinary means used by the cardinal for raising money having excited an universal dissatisfaction, it was requisite to have recourse to the usual methods. A parliament, therefore, was called, and a convocation of the clergy was held at the same time according to custom. The cardinal having, on divers pretences, removed those prelates from whom he expected the greatest opposition, and influenced others by promises and threats, exacted from the clergy an exorbitant sum.† He then proceeded to the house of commons, where he made a long speech, in which he endeavoured to show the necessity of the war undertaken against France, and, having employed all the arguments which a minister could use to draw money from the purses of subjects, he concluded by demanding a sub-

* The events of this war are detailed by P. Daniel, tom. 7th, and Guicciard. lib. 15th and 16th.

† Burnet's Hist. Reform. vol. 3. p. 24.

ably of four shillings per pound on all lay property.* This demand occasioned warm debates, the result of which was that the commons resolved to grant only half of the money. The cardinal, highly incensed at this procedure, went again to the house, and desired to debate the matter with those who opposed his demand. But the commons replied, by their speaker, the celebrated Sir Thomas More, that it was the order of that house not to permit any person to take a part in the debates except its own members. This was the first attempt in this reign to render the king master of the debates of parliament, and its failure gave the cardinal no small mortification.

This ambitious minister, however, soon experienced a disappointment of far greater magnitude. The period arrived, which, in his expectation, was to usher in the accomplishment of his towering projects. Adrien IV. expired at Rome, in a very advanced age, and Wolsey flattered himself that the emperor would gratefully remember his services, and exert all his influence to raise him to the papacy. But he found himself a second time deceived: Charles did not wish to place in

* Stowe's *Surr. S.* p. 177.

so commanding a situation, a person whom he knew to be of all men one of the most imperious, intriguing, and unmanageable: the cardinals concurred in the same sentiments; and nothing could exceed the disappointment and mortification of Wolsey on receiving intelligence of the exaltation of Clement VII. to the pontificate. But conscious that a public expression of his resentment would only impede his revenge, he dissembled the affront; and the English ambassador at Rome was ordered to notify to the new Pope, the joy with which the king and the cardinal of York received the news of his exaltation. The cardinal, however, was not of a disposition to forgive a prince by whom he had been twice so egregiously deceived; and from that moment he sought to alienate Henry from the interests of the emperor, and to engage him in an alliance with France.

It was Wolsey's invariable maxim to make all his public measures concur with his private interests, how incompatible soever they might be with those of the sovereign and the kingdom. The result of the war in Italy, produced a coincidence between the views of the cardinal, the interests of England, and the welfare of Europe. The French monarch being taken prisoner, and his army totally

routed at the memorable battle of Pavia,* France was reduced to the greatest distress, and all Europe was thrown into consternation. The emperor was left without a rival, and ready to overrun Italy with his victorious armies. A league, therefore, was formed between the Pope and the Venetians, for the purpose of supporting France against the overwhelming power of the house of Austria. This turn of affairs afforded the cardinal of York a fair opportunity of revenging himself on the Emperor, who had twice disappointed his hopes of obtaining the papacy. It was evidently the interest of England to oppose the aggrandizement of Charles, who menaced Europe with subjugation. Wolsey, therefore, proposed an alliance with France, and a war with the Emperor, and the measure was readily adopted by the king, and approved by the whole council.

While the treaty between England and France was negotiating at London, the care of raising money was committed to the cardinal. That haughty minister, however, disdained to expose himself to another contest with the house of commons. He, there-

* The battle of Pavia was fought on the 24th Feb. 1525. Hen. Ab. Chron. ad. an.

fore, adopted the arbitrary measure of issuing royal commissions, to levy large sums both on the laity and clergy throughout the whole kingdom. This arbitrary mode of taxation excited such a ferment, as threatened a general rebellion; and the king was obliged to issue a proclamation, disavowing the commissions issued in his name.* This seems to have been the first shock which the power of Wolsey received; but it was only slight: the king was acquainted with many of his oppressive measures; but he attributed them to his zeal for his service, and resigned himself with implicit confidence to the counsels of this all-powerful minister, who filled the court with his creatures, and took care to remove all those whom he suspected of being his enemies. He also carried into execution a part of his project respecting the suppression of monasteries. By virtue of his legantine power, he commissioned his chaplain to visit all religious houses; and this inspection proceeded with a rigour that was infinitely serviceable to his employer. From several of the monasteries considerable sums were extorted: some were wholly suppressed, and their revenues were applied by the cardinal

* Parliam. Hist. vol. 3.

to the erection of a magnificent college at Oxford. Thus the suppression of the English monasteries was projected, and first began to be executed by a cardinal, acting under the papal authority.

The treaty of peace and alliance with France was concluded.* But the war which
August 30,
A. D. 1525. followed of course, against the emperor, was productive of no consequences of any great importance to England. The same may be observed of the transactions which took place between England and Scotland. These were a succession of wars, treaties, and truces, which, from the period of the battle of Flodden field, appear but little interesting. The wars of Henry VIII. indeed, display few brilliant exploits or striking events to attract the attention of a modern reader.

But if the foreign politics of Henry VIII. be of little importance, the domestic occurrences of his reign are highly interesting to posterity. Eighteen years had elapsed since this monarch had been married to Catharine of Arragon, widow of prince Arthur, his elder brother. By her he had three children, of whom the only one that was living was Mary, afterwards queen of England. Catha-

* For the articles see Rym. fœd. tom. 14. p. 50, &c.

rine was universally esteemed for her virtues and her amiable disposition; but neither the qualifications of her mind, nor her person, were capable of securing the affections of her volatile consort. He had long ranged from beauty to beauty amongst the ladies of his court, and his elevated rank had always procured a ready compliance from female frailty. At length his passion received a check, which served only to add fuel to the flame, and raised up against the virtuous queen a formidable rival. Among her maids of honour was a young lady named Anna Boleyn, the daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, a gentleman of distinction.* He had been twice employed as ambassador to Paris, and Anna, his daughter, had been educated at the court of France. The brilliant accomplishments which she had acquired in that school of politeness, augmented her personal charms, which excited the admiration of every beholder. Her features were regular, her countenance was mild and attractive, her shape was elegant, though her stature was below the middle size; and her wit and vivacity surpassed even the allurements of her person. Henry, who never restrained any passion, was immediately

* Dugd. Baron, 2. p. 306.

struck with her charms ; but her virtue or her ambition rendered her proof against all the arts of seduction. Perceiving that he had no hope of succeeding in his amour but by marriage, he resolved to remove the only obstacle that stood in his way, by procuring a divorce from his queen. His ostensible pretext was a scruple of conscience for having so long lived in a state of incest with his brother's widow ; but many of his subjects suspected, though they did not presume to divulge, his real motive.

It must, however, be observed, that the legability of Henry's marriage, with Catharine, had always been a matter of dispute among the most learned divines, and rested wholly on the dispensation granted by Julius II. a pontiff more famous for his political intrigues and martial spirit than for his religious principles. When Henry VII. concluded the marriage between his son and prince Arthur's widow, Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, declared it to be contrary to the law of God, which could not be annulled by a papal dispensation. It is also said that the king, being touched by this remonstrance, caused his son, on entering his fourteenth year, to make, before trusty witnesses, a secret protestation against this marriage, and that even

on his death-bed he had enjoined him not to proceed to the consummation.* But notwithstanding this charge, Henry VIII. was no sooner placed on the throne than he espoused the princess contrary to Warham's opinion, to which he preferred that of the bishop of Winchester, who strenuously insisted on the unlimited power of the vicar of Christ, and the consequent validity of the dispensation. But this decision did not extinguish all doubts. At a subsequent period the emperor, Charles V. was affianced to Mary, the daughter of Henry and Catharine, but refused to marry that princess because the council of Spain questioned her legitimacy. Afterwards when a marriage was negotiating between the same princess and the duke of Orleans, the bishop of Tarbè, the French ambassador, made the same objection, maintaining that Mary could not be born in lawful wedlock, notwithstanding the Pope's dispensation. And Henry declared, in an assembly of the lords, that the arguments of this ecclesiastic first inspired him with the thought of inquiring into the matter, although some circumstances make it seem probable that either his scruples of conscience, or at

* Burnet Hist. Reform. 1. p. 36.

least his disgust against the queen, may be dated from an earlier period.* It is, indeed, generally supposed that cardinal Wolsey, through hatred to the queen and her nephew the emperor, was the first mover of this divorce, and whoever examines the character and general conduct of this minister, as well as of Henry, will judge whether conscience had the principal share in prompting the measure.

A. D. 1527. In this state of doubt Henry applied to Clement VII. who at that time sat in the papal chair. Clement was under great obligations to the English monarch, who expected from him a ready compliance. No situation could be more perplexing than that of the Pope. To authorize the divorce would highly exasperate the emperor, whose resentment he had recently felt and did not wish to rekindle;† and besides he could not declare the bull of Julius II. illegal, without invalidating the papal infallibility, while, on the other hand, the king of England was his friend and protector. Thus Clement, according to his own expression, was placed between the hammer and the

* Burnet Hist. Reform. I. p. 36.

† The Imperial army under the duke of Bourbon, had taken and plundered Rome, and imprisoned the Pope, May 6, 1527.

anvil. In this dilemma, the best expedient that he could devise was to spin out the business in a long negotiation, in the hope that a change in the king's mind, or some other fortunate incident might relieve him from his embarrassment. To enter into a detail of the intrigues, cabals, and tergiversations, made use of in this affair, would lead to a tedious prolixity.* The Pope argued, promised, recanted, and temporized. Henry, as well as Clement, had been taught the art of theological controversy: he was supported by the authority of that celebrated school divine Thomas Aquinas, and he found or wrested many texts of scripture to favour his passion. The prelates of England being consulted, and their opinions collected by the archbishop of Canterbury, all of them except Fisher, bishop of Rochester, declared the king's marriage, with Catharine, contrary to the divine law, which could not be superceded by the papal dispensation. To these arguments and authorities Henry endeavoured to give additional weight by his menaces. His ambassadors assured the Pope that the English were already but too much inclined to withdraw their

* The whole of the detail may be seen in Burnet's Hist. Reform. vol. I.

obedience from the holy see, and, if encouraged by the king, would readily separate from its communion. The same ambassadors also solicited the Pope to grant Henry a dispensation to have two wives at once, if his marriage with the queen could not be dissolved by pontifical authority.

These negotiations had continued nearly two years, a long period in the calculations of love; and Henry had spent the time in patient expectation of the issue. Clement, in order to free himself as much as possible from this perplexing affair, resolved to refer the decision to his legates, and sent cardinal Campegio into England as colleague to Wolsey. The business, however, was nothing advanced: obstacles were artfully thrown in the way; and the patience of Henry was exhausted by reiterated delays. He had expected to find in Wolsey a steady adherent and a zealous supporter. But the cardinal seemed to be nearly in the same predicament as the Pope. On one hand it was his interest to please the king, who had been the maker of his fortune, and could easily take away what he had given; on the other hand he could not disoblige the Pope without exposing himself to dangers of equal magnitude. In this dilemma, he judged it the safest to stand

neuter, and although he was of all mankind the most haughty and imperious, yet, on this occasion, he gave way in every thing to his colleague. This method of temporizing, which Wolsey adopted, was highly displeasing to the king; and Anna Boleyn was fully persuaded, that if the cardinal had pleased, the affair would have taken a different turn. Whether her suspicions were well or ill grounded, she began to regard Wolsey as her mortal enemy, and endeavoured, by every means in her power, to excite against him the resentment of the king, in which undertaking she was seconded by several persons of the highest rank, who were greatly disgusted at the power and the pride of the minister.

From this period may be dated the ruin of Wolsey. The king found a minister of equal abilities in the person of Thomas Cranmer, a doctor of divinity, who, having been professor in the university of Cambridge, was expelled for marrying contrary to the canon law. He had travelled in Germany, where he had read Luther's works, and embraced several of his doctrines; and after his return, was tutor to the sons of a gentleman, who happened one night to entertain two of the principal persons of the court. The king's divorce being the topic of conversation, Cran-

mer is said to have declared, that the best expedient for deciding the question would be to consult all the universities in Europe, and to obtain their opinions with those of the most eminent divines and civilians : others affirm that this measure was first suggested by Cardinal Wolsey.* But it is certain that Cranmer discoursed in so learned a manner on the subject of the divorce, that the king being informed of his abilities, ordered him to be brought into his presence, and from that moment attached him to the court.

During the space of fourteen years, Wolsey had been placed on the summit of prosperity ; but we are now called to contemplate the fatal reverse of his fortune. As soon as it was perceived that he was no longer supported by the royal favour, his enemies openly laboured to accomplish his ruin, and their endeavours were successful. The attorney-general preferred against him a bill of indictment on the statute of
Oct. 9th,
A. D. 1529. *præmunire*. A few days after, the king took from him the great seal, and gave it to Sir Thomas More, who was universally esteemed for his talents and integrity. Criminality is readily found in the conduct of a

* Vide Tindal's Notes on Rapin, vol. 1. p. 785.

minister, whose ruin is determined. The cardinal was outlawed; and the king having ordered him to retire to a country house, directed that an inventory of his goods should be taken. These were found to amount to the value of six hundred thousand crowns, which was, at that time, an enormous sum. The parliament confirmed the sentence pronounced against the cardinal, and his vast wealth was confiscated to the king's use.

In the mean while, the different universities of France, Italy, Germany, and Switzerland, being consulted on the subject of the divorce, were unanimous in their opinions that Henry's marriage with Catharine was contrary to the divine law, with which the Pope had not power to dispense. Oxford and Cambridge came to the same decision, but not without warm debates and great opposition.* It might appear wonderful, that the English universities should be more hostile to the king's designs than those of foreign countries; but it must be observed, that their scruples arose less from the nature of the question than from a dread of its consequences. Most of the members were extremely averse from the doctrines of Luther, which were beginning

* Vide Burnet, l. p. 87 and 94.

to spread in England, and which they were afraid of countenancing, by deciding against the Pope. They also disapproved of the king's intended marriage with Anna Boleyn, because that lady was inclined to favour the reformation, and expressed a great esteem for Cranmer, whose preferment, for the same reason, they dreaded.

On the return of his ambassadors from Rome, the king perceived that he had nothing to expect from the Pope, who still continued to temporize. The delay of another year had exercised and exhausted Henry's patience, and the endless train of embarrassments which arose in constant succession, impelled him to alter his conduct. A judicious historian observes, that if Henry had at first acted with more vigour, and powerfully supported the French in Italy, he might have brought the affair to a speedy and favourable decision, as the Pope, who was entirely swayed by his own interests, would, in that case, never have thought of attaching himself to the emperor.* Henry perceived his error when it was too late to repair it, as the French were driven out of Naples, and Clement VII. saw himself obliged to unite with the emperor, the effects of whose hostility he had once so dreadfully experienced.

* Rapin, l. p. 787 and 788.

In this state of affairs, Henry had no other expedient than to set the papal authority at defiance; and he soon found that he should be supported in this proceeding by the parliament and the nation. The queen had often been solicited to retire with an ample salary; but she rejected every proposal, and declared her determination to assert the validity of her marriage, till it was dissolved by the sentence of the Pope. The patience of Henry being completely worn out by the delays of the court of Rome, he resolved to have the matter decided by the parliament and clergy of England. The state of the case was, therefore, printed and published for the information of the people; and all the arguments that could be adduced on both sides of the question, were amply discussed by the advocates of the king and the queen, in order to facilitate the decision.*

While the learned casuists and civilians were preparing the subject for parliamentary discussion, the cardinal remained at his villa, agitated by alternate hopes and apprehensions. A gleam of royal favour, however, once more burst on his fallen fortunes: the king granted him a general pardon of all his offences, of what nature soever,† and not

* Burnet, 1. p. 97. † The pardon is dated February 12, 1530.

only left him the archbishopric of York, but assigned him a thousand marks per annum, out of the revenues of the see of Winchester, and even restored a part of his confiscated property. But while these favourable appearances revived his hopes, they alarmed his enemies, who dreaded his return to court, and exerted all their endeavours to complete his ruin. At length he received an order to retire to his diocese at York, and set out with a train, which although not so numerous as during the time of his prosperity, still consisted of a hundred and sixty horsemen, and seventy-two carts, laden with his household furniture. Adversity had not extinguished his love of pomp and parade, and being arrived at his palace at Cawood, he prepared for the ceremony of his installment, in which he intended to display a magnificence little suitable to his condition. At this place he was unexpectedly arrested by the earl of Northumberland, on a charge of high treason. His specific crime was never known, although an historian, who treats of those times, says that he had written to the Pope and several foreign princes, letters reflecting on the king, and endeavoured to excite them to avenge his cause.* He set out by easy journeys to

* Hall, p. 194.

London, to appear as a criminal, where he had acted as a sovereign. Having stayed some time at the earl of Shrewsbury's, at Sheffield Park, he was suddenly taken ill at dinner, which caused some to suspect that he had poisoned himself, though the fact seems improbable. Notwithstanding his sickness, he recommenced his journey, but was obliged to stop at Leicester Abbey, where he terminated his ambitious career. Before he expired, he thus expressed himself to the officer who guarded his bed: "If I had served God as diligently as I endeavoured to please the king, he would not have forsaken me in my adversity." Thus ended the life of this famous cardinal, one of the proudest, the most haughty, and most ambitious of men: he had possessed greater power and accumulated more wealth than any English minister before or after him; and had he lived, he might possibly have weathered the storm by which he was assailed, as the king shewed a great concern on account of his death.*

January 6,
A. D. 1531.

The parliament being met, the subject of the divorce was proposed for their discussion. The clergy, in convoca-

* Herbert & Tindal's notes on Rapin. Herbert, p. 148. Rapin, 1. p. 790.

tion, declared the king's marriage with Catharine to be contrary to the law of God. Henry having gained this point, resolved to abolish the papal authority, which could not be accomplished without intimidating the clergy; and an excellent device was used for that purpose. Cardinal Wolsey had been condemned and outlawed, for exercising his legantine power in England without the king's special licence; but his sentence can only be regarded as a quibble of law, since he had certainly acted with the royal connivance. His condemnation, however, involved all that had acknowledged his authority. The king, therefore, ordered an indictment to be preferred against the whole body of the clergy, for violating the laws of the realm. This measure completely answered his expectation, and effected two important purposes. The clergy seeing themselves equally destitute of the papal protection and of popular support, purchased their pardon by signing an instrument, in which they agreed to pay the king a fine of £118,840. and also acknowledged him as the supreme head of the English church.* As several of the laity were also involved in the offence imputed to

* Of this sum, £100,000. were given by the district of Canterbury, the rest by that of York. Rym. Fœd. 14. p. 414.

the clergy, the commons were equally intimidated, till the king dissipated their alarm by granting them a general pardon. The people not only rejoiced to see the clergy humbled; but seemed inattentive to the depression of the parliament; and, from that period, Henry VIII. might be considered as an absolute monarch.

Though the affair of the divorce was not yet determined by the parliament, Henry was resolved to act as if it had been already decided. In the first place, he sent some bishops and lords to persuade the queen to consent to their separation, or to refer the decision to a certain number of prelates. Catharine, however, could not be persuaded to desist from her appeal to Rome. The king, therefore, having given her the choice of any of his manors for a residence, took his final leave of her at Windsor, and
July 14th,
A. D. 1531. was soon after privately married to Anna Boleyn, at Calais.*

The proceedings of the king and the parliament, encouraged those who wished for a complete reformation in the church; and religious disputes became frequent and public. But Henry was a bigot in religion, as well as

* Vide Stowe, p. 562. Burnet, vol. 1. p. 126.

a tyrant in politics; and in throwing off the papal yoke, his only aim was to render himself despotic. In order to prevent his proceedings from giving rise to further innovations, he commanded the laws against heretics to be rigorously executed, and the very same year that he rejected the authority of the Pope, he began the burning of protestants.

Although the king had assumed the supremacy of the English church, he had not yet totally separated from the communion of Rome; but the measures which he continued to take, contributed to widen the breach. An act was passed by the parliament for preventing the impoverishment of the kingdom, by the sums paid to Rome for first fruits, palls, bulls, &c.* The house of commons appeared unwilling to come to an open rupture with Rome. And the lord chancellor, Sir Thomas More, who was desirous of retrenching the usurped power of the Pope, without a total separation from the holy see, resigned the great seal. Cranmer was, on the king's nomination, promoted to the archbishopric of Canterbury, vacant by the death of Warham, and paid nine hundred ducats to the Pope for his bulls, the last that were

* For these things £160,000. had been paid to Rome, since the second year of Henry VII. Rapin, l. p. 795.

sent into England during this reign. The new archbishop, who had imbibed many of Luther's doctrines, scrupled to take the customary oath of obedience to the Pope; but the king's solicitations for that purpose, induced him to consent, although he accompanied it with a protestation, which annulled its efficacy. It is evident that Henry was still desirous of having the Pope's dispensation for his marriage with Anna Boleyn; but perceiving no further hope from that quarter, he again endeavoured to prevail on the queen to consent to the divorce. Finding her still inflexible, he caused her to be summoned before the archbishop; and on her refusing to appear, Cranmer gave sentence, declaring the marriage null, as contrary to the law of God. He also confirmed the king's marriage with Anna Boleyn; and the new queen

June 1st,
A. D. 1533. was soon after crowned with the usual solemnities.

Thus terminated, after consuming six years in the discussion, the affair of this famous divorce, which has been productive of so important consequences. In regard to the scruples of conscience which Henry alleged, none but the searcher of hearts can determine the degree of his sincerity; but it is easy to perceive that passion had the principal share

in directing his conduct. It is equally or even still more evident that all the other actors in the scene, unless we except Catharine herself,* were guided by no other than political views, without any regard for religion or conscience. If we may credit the assertions of both parties in their mutual charges and recriminations, the universities were corrupted by bribes; and both the emperor and Henry endeavoured, by the distribution of money and the granting of benefices, to purchase from the doctors a favourable decision. Henry, however, prevailed; and it therefore appears, that as he was the most interested in the issue of the debates, his liberality had exceeded that of his rival. The whole affair exhibits a series of cabal and intrigue, and the equivocating policy of Clement VII. was but little compatible with the character of the vicar of Christ.

The negotiations between England and Rome still continued for some time; but the measures of Henry indicated no great desire of a reconciliation with the Pope. But had he even entertained such a wish, the efforts of the emperor would have rendered it ineffec-

* Catharine was a princess of great virtue and sincere piety. For her character, see *Barnet* l. p. 198.

tual. At one moment an accommodation was apparently about to take place; but the Pope, being pressed by the imperial ambassadors, and terrified by their threats of the emperor's resentment, was obliged to issue a sentence declaring Henry's marriage with Catharine lawful, and enjoining him to take her again with a denunciation of censures in case of his refusal.

In the next session of parliament, which met on the 15th of January, several

A. D. 1534.

acts were passed which completely annihilated every remainder of the papal authority in England. Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, the late chancellor, refused to sign the act which established the king's supremacy, and were sent to the Tower. The English nation was now divided into two religious parties, the catholics and the favourers of the reformation. At the head of the former were the duke of Norfolk, Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, Longland, bishop of Lincoln, and almost all the churchmen who had access to the court. The chief of those who favoured the reformation were the queen, Anna Boleyn, Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, and Thomas Cromwell. But the king did not consider them as protestants: He regarded them as men of

sound judgment, desirous of reforming the abuses crept into the church. These he confined to the usurped authority of the Pope and the existence of monasteries, and supposed that their opinions kept within the same limits. Cranmer and Cromwell, who knew the disposition of the king, took care not to discover their thoughts, but hoped to bring him by degrees to adopt their doctrines. It must, however, be observed, that the majority both of the clergy and laity, who adhered to the catholic faith, condemned the usurpations of the Pope; but their opinions were marked by many shades of difference: some approved of the total abolition of the papal authority, while others, and perhaps the greater number, would only have wished to see it restrained within reasonable limits. The monks might be considered as a third party distinct from the others: strenuous abettors of the authority of the Pope, whom they regarded as their only true head, they openly refused to acknowledge the supremacy of the king, and in their discourses and sermons endeavoured to render him odious in the eyes of his subjects. Their presumption was productive of fatal effects. Several priors and monks, who had spoken opprobriously of the new statutes, were appre-

hended, and, being convicted of high treason, were executed. Sir Thomas More, and Fisher, bishop of Rochester, who was then in the eightieth year of his age, were beheaded for refusing to take the new oath of supremacy, by which the king was acknowledged as head of the English church.* The cruelty of the tyrant, however, was impartial: he caused the laws against heretics to be rigorously executed; and not only those who denied the supremacy of the royal Pope, but those who embraced the reformation, were put to death without mercy.

While Henry was making both catholics and protestants feel the weight of his vengeance, Paul III. who had succeeded Clement VII. in the papacy, was employed in drawing up a bull of excommunication and interdict against the king and the kingdom.† In the mean while Henry resolved to free himself from those dangerous adversaries the monks, who incessantly laboured to alienate the affections of his subjects, and restore the papal authority. He, therefore, proposed to his council the propriety of suppressing the

* They were both men of learning and integrity; but declared enemies of the reformation. See their characters delineated in Burnet, vol. I. p. 354 and 355.

† This bull, though drawn up at this time, was not published till above three years after, viz. Dec. 17th 1538. Vide Burnet I. p. 245.

monasteries. The question was warmly debated by the two opposite parties, as the friends of the reformation hoped, and its enemies feared, that the suppression of these houses would introduce further changes in religion. The king having heard the arguments alleged on both sides, perceived that he could not carry his project into execution all at once, without giving offence to the greatest part of his subjects. He, therefore, resolved to proceed gradually, and to begin by removing the prejudices of the people in favour of the monks. This being absolutely necessary to the accomplishment of his design, he ordered a general visitation of the monasteries; and Thomas Cromwell, an avowed enemy to the monks, was appointed visitor-general, with directions to make a strict inquiry into the titles by which these houses held their possessions, as well as into the conduct of the religions of both sexes, in regard to their morals, the observance of the rules of their orders, and the management of their revenues. The visitation was begun A. D. 1535. in the month of October, by commissioners appointed by Cromwell, and furnished with ample instructions. It is no wonder that, among the great number of monasteries in the kingdom, some should

have deviated from the original design of their institution, and have admitted great irregularities; but little credit can be given to the reports of visitors, whose business it was to render the monastic orders odious to the people, and to find a plausible pretext for their suppression. By promises and threats several priors were induced, with the consent of the monks, to surrender their houses to the king, and obtained small pensions or some other recompence.* In the next session of

A. D. 1536.

parliament, an act was passed for the suppression of all the smaller monasteries.† These were three hundred and seventy-six in number, and their revenues, amounting to thirty-two thousands pounds per annum, were annexed to the crown. Besides this, the king acquired plate, church ornaments, and other goods, to the value of a hundred thousand pounds: the suppression of the monasteries, therefore, was conformable to the policy, the revenge, and the avarice of the king; and the beginning afforded an alluring bait to encourage him to persevere in the measure. The convocation sitting, at the same time, obtained the king's permission to have the bible trans-

* Stowe, p. 572. † Of £200. a year, and under. Rapin l. 809.

lated into English. The parliament was ^{April 14th,} then dissolved, after having con-
^{A. D. 1536.} tinued six years. No other parliament had held so long since the beginning of the monarchy.

Immediately after this event a new and tragical scene disgraced the court and impressed an indelible stain on the character of the monarch. Anna Boleyn, his consort, and so lately the object of his amorous passion, felt the dreadful effects of his inconstancy. This affair, like all the intrigues of corrupt courts, is enveloped in mysterious obscurity.* But it is certain that his passion for the queen was exhausted, and he had fallen in love with Jane Seymour, one of her maids of honour. The king had long been tormented with jealousy, and the enemies of the queen endeavoured to confirm his suspicions. In an affair which has been so little elucidated by historians, it suffices to say, that she was accused of adultery with her domestics, and of incest with her brother. Smeaton, a musician, is said to have acknowledged that he had received undue favours from the queen; but he was never confronted with her, and was hanged before she was

* Vide Burnet 1. p. 191, &c.

brought to trial. Norris, Brereton, and Weston, three of her domestics, were condemned and executed without any proof of guilt. The queen, and her brother, lord Rocheford, being tried for incest and treason, were condemned and executed; but it was never known on what evidence the sentence was grounded. Thus the throne, which this unfortunate queen had so eagerly laboured to ascend, proved the cause of her ruin. She suffered death with great constancy, praying for the king, and requesting for herself the prayers of the people. It is generally believed that she was innocent of the crimes laid to her charge; but she had often displayed a levity of behaviour sufficient to excite suspicion, and little becoming her situation and character.* On the day following her execution, Henry solemnized his marriage with Jane Seymour; and in so easily forgetting a consort, who had once been the unrivalled mistress of his affections, he shewed that his heart was more unfeeling than that of a barbarian.†

Before the queen's execution, the king had extorted from her a confession that she had

* Vide Burnet, p. 191. &c. to p. 206.—Strype's *mem.* p. 222, &c.

† Anna Boleyn had not shared the throne quite three years. She was crowned June 1st. 1533, and beheaded May 19th, 1536.

been previously contracted to the earl of Northumberland, although that nobleman declared, upon his salvation, that no such pre-contract had ever been made. On this ground, however, the archbishop of Canterbury was compelled to pass a sentence of divorce between her and the king; and Elizabeth, their daughter, was pronounced illegitimate. After this the parliament

June 8th,
A. D. 1533.

met, and passed an act which gave to the king the full power of settling the succession. The convocation of the clergy confirmed the sentence of divorce, and concurred with both houses of parliament in giving to Henry a power that had never been possessed by any of his predecessors.

In this convocation some reforms in religion were suggested by the king, and adopted by the clergy. They were strictly conformable to reason, although regarded by bigots as dangerous innovations in religion. These alterations, however, went no further than to rectify the abuses of the doctrines of images, invocation of saints, and purgatory. By the new ordinances, images were to be honoured and saints to be invoked, but without superstition! Prayers for the dead were to be continued; but masses, said in certain places or before certain images, were prohibited. It

was very justly and philosophically observed, that the place and state of souls after death, is unknown; and it was therefore ordered that they should be recommended to the mercy of God only in general terms. The bigotted adherents to the old religion considered these alterations as carried too far: the bigotted reformers regarded them as falling too short of their object; and thus neither party was satisfied.

But the suppression of the monasteries was that which chiefly excited the discontents of the nation. In all ages, and in every country, the majority of the people seems to have been strongly attached to ancient establishments. These, indeed, become in time intimately connected with the existing system of society; and it cannot be denied, that monastic institutions had, during many centuries, been found of great utility.* In the rude and barbarous ages that followed the subversion of the Roman empire, monasteries afforded a refuge to the unfortunate, a peaceable asylum to men of letters, and places of entertainment for travellers in times when inns were scarcely known in Europe. The inte-

* During several centuries the monks had been the chief promoters of agriculture. Campbell's Polit. Survey, 2. p. 228.—For the utility of monastic institutions, see also Ryan's Effects of Religion.

rests of these houses gradually became connected with the social system : they afforded to the nobility and gentry the means of providing for their younger children ; and the poor were supported by the alms which their ample revenues enabled them to distribute. The progress of civilization, and the increase of commercial intercourse, had, in the sixteenth century, rendered these religious retreats less necessary than in former ages ; but they were still the objects of popular respect, and multitudes had an interest in their preservation.

While the public mind was in this fermentation, Thomas lord Cromwell, whom Henry had made his vicegerent in ecclesiastical affairs, devised an expedient for calming the discontents of the people. He advised the king to sell the lands of the suppressed monasteries at very easy rates, and to oblige the purchasers to continue the customary hospitality. But this measure did not silence the murmurs of the people ; and the king endeavoured to give them some satisfaction by restoring and re-endowing thirty-one of these houses. The monks, however, laboured incessantly to excite the people to revolt ; and in some parts of the country they accomplished their design. In Lincolnshire

Dr. Mackarel, prior of Burlings, raised a numerous body of men, and put himself at their head; but the insurgents dispersed on being granted a general pardon. A still more formidable insurrection took place in Yorkshire. Several persons of note were concerned; and Robert Aske, a man of abilities and courage, took the command of the insurgents, who flocked in such crowds to his standard that he soon saw himself at the head of thirty-five thousand men.* With this force he made himself master of the castle of Pontefract, as also of York and Hull; but Scarborough castle resisted all his efforts. Having raised the siege of that place he directed his march towards the south, and advanced as far as Scawby Leys, near Doncaster, where the duke of Norfolk, the marquis of Exeter, and the earl of Shrewsbury, were encamped with only 5000 men to oppose his progress. Fortunately for them a heavy rain had caused the river Don to overflow so as to render it impassable. This circumstance gave rise to a negotiation, and the rebels finding the passage of the river impracticable, agreed to return to their homes on receiving a general pardon.

Dec. 7th,
A. D. 1536.

* The rebels called this insurrection "the Pilgrimage of Grace," and in their banners were represented a crucifix, the five wounds of Christ, and a chalice, &c. Vide Burnet l. p. 229, and Stowe, p. 574.

The public discontents, however, were not immediately appeased. Musgrave and Tilly, two gentlemen of the north, assembled eight thousand male-contents, and made an assault on Carlisle, but were repulsed; and being suddenly attacked by the duke of Norfolk, they were totally defeated. Musgrave had the good fortune to escape, but Tilly and seventy-four others were taken and hanged on the walls of Carlisle. Sir Francis Bigod, and another gentleman, also attempted to surprise Hull, but were taken and executed. These reiterated attempts so incensed the king that he ordered Aske and the lord D'Arcy to be apprehended and put to death, notwithstanding the general pardon granted to appease the first insurrection. Thomas Fitzgerald, son of the late earl of Kildare, with five of his uncles, suffered the same fate, and many other persons of note were executed at London, York, and Hull.*

In the mean while, the king being fully persuaded that the monks contributed in no small degree to foment the discontents of the people, and excite them to revolt, was more than ever desirous of freeing himself from these enemies, and of enriching himself with

* Stowe, p. 574—Hall 232.

their spoils. Avarice, indeed, appears to have been one of the principal incitements to his design. The suppression of the smaller monasteries had brought him considerable profits, which incited him to suppress all the rest, and to seize their vast possessions. He began, as before, by ordering a strict visitation, not doubting but further discoveries might be made which would tend to undeceive the people and promote his design.

The visitation, as might be expected, was rigorously performed; and the king caused all the reports to be published. These, however, were undoubtedly drawn up in subserviency to the king's design; and the impartial historian, forming his judgment from circumstances rather than from interested representations, cannot but regard the accounts of the scandalous lives of the monks and nuns as greatly exaggerated. But what most of all contributed to cure the people of their superstitious veneration for monastic institutions, was an exposure of the frauds that were exercised with respect to relics and images. These, it must be confessed, exhibited a system of imposture, which could not too soon be annihilated, and which evidently proves, that in the times under consideration, the existence of monasteries was no longer

conducive to the interests of rational religion, but rather tended to support superstition. All the counterfeit relics, miraculous images moving by springs, and other instruments of pious fraud, were publicly committed to the flames. But the people could not, without being sensibly shocked, see the bones of St. Thomas, of Canterbury, condemned to the same fate. During the space of three centuries he had been considered as one of the greatest saints of heaven. Kings, princes, and nobles, foreign as well as English, had frequently performed pilgrimages to procure his intercession, and made rich oblations at his shrine.* Among these was a diamond of great value offered by Louis VII. of France. The spoils of his shrine in gold and precious stones filled two chests, which were so heavy as to require eight strong men to carry them out of the church. In seizing this vast treasure the king was supposed to act from motives of avarice; and the adherents of the ancient religion considered him as guilty of sacrilege.

These proceedings having convinced the Pope that a reconciliation was not to be ex-

* Vide remarks on the pilgrimages to the shrine of St. James, at Compostella, and that of St. Thomas, of Canterbury. *And. Hist. Com.* l. p. 446, 455.

pected, his holiness published the bull of excommunication drawn up in 1535. He also endeavoured to excite all the princes of christendom against Henry, declaring it to be more meritorious to fight against him than against the Turk. But the thunders of Rome had now lost their force: the bull excited no commotion, and only served to widen the breach. A decree was published by the vicegerent, enjoining all pastors to teach the people the Lord's prayer, the creed, and the commandments, in English; as also to instruct the people by declaring, that relics, beads, &c. were unnecessary things, and that they were to trust in their own works for salvation. They were also ordered to take down all images, before which offerings were wont to be made, and to suffer no candles to be burned before any image, except that of Christ.

Henry, however, would not suffer any of his subjects to go farther than himself in religious reform. Lambert, a schoolmaster, in London, was brought before Cranmer and Latimer for denying the doctrine of the real presence of Christ in the sacrament. These two prelates, both of whom were, at that time, of Luther's opinion, combated his arguments, and advised him to conform to the

established faith. Lambert refused to retract his opinions, and fatally appealed to the king. A numerous assembly of lords and divines was convened in Westminster-Hall, where Henry undertook to dispute the point with him in person. But what weight could the arguments of a poor schoolmaster have against those of a powerful monarch? Lambert stood alone without a second, while the royal theologian was surrounded with a crowd of nobles and bishops, who applauded all his words, and averred that his reasonings were invincible. The result was, that Lambert had his choice either to abjure his opinions, or to be burned as an incorrigible heretic. As he preferred to sacrifice his life rather than his conscience, the vicegerent, Cromwell, pronounced his sentence, which was executed in Smithfield, with circumstances of the most horrid barbarity.*

At this calamitous period, indeed, executions abounded. The marquis of Exeter, the lord Montague, Sir Edward Nevil, and Sir Nicholas Carew, master of the horse, and knight of the garter, were apprehended, condemned, and executed, for holding a correspondence with cardinal Pole, who was the

* Vide Burnet, l. p. 251, &c.

king's avowed enemy, and used every means to withdraw his subjects from their allegiance.

A. D. 1539. The king now proceeded in his great work of suppressing the monasteries. It was not done by act of parliament, as before, but by what was called the voluntary surrender of the abbots. These persons, with the chief monks in each house, being gained by promises, or intimidated by threats, surrendered to the king their respective monasteries. Such of them as were of royal foundation, must, on their suppression, have reverted to the crown; but such as had been endowed by private persons, ought, in equity, to have returned to the heirs of the founders and donors. This, however, had never been Henry's intention; and he, therefore, cut off all such claims by procuring an act of parliament, by which the temporalities of all the religious houses were annexed to the royal domain. The number of monasteries suppressed, were, according to Camden, six hundred and forty-three, besides ninety colleges, two thousand three hundred and seventy-four chantries, and a hundred and ten hospitals. The yearly value of their lands amounted to £161,100. sterling, according to the rents at which they were let; but it must be observed, that the practice of the

abbots was to enrich themselves by granting leases at low rents and high fines. It has been supposed that the rents were not at more than one-tenth of the value, and that they were consequently worth above sixteen hundred thousand pounds a year, which, in those days, was an enormous sum.* But, besides the rents of the lands, the king derived large sums from the church ornaments, the plate, furniture, lead, bells, and other materials: by one single article we may judge of the rest: in the abbey of St. Edmondsbury alone, there was found five thousand marks of gold and silver in bullion.†

After pensions had been assigned to abbots, priors, monks, and nuns, for their livelihood, according to the bargains which they had made on surrendering their houses, Henry founded six bishoprics, and established some canons. In all this he employed a revenue of only £8000. a year. He also expended some money in fortifying ports: all the rest was squandered in presents to the courtiers,

* In order to convey some idea of the wealth of the English monasteries, Tindal says that the lands belonging to the abbey of St. Alban's, were, when he wrote his notes, worth £200,000. a year, and those of the abbey of Glastonbury worth £300,000. a year. This was in the former part of the last century, and at this day the sums may at least be doubled. See Tindal's notes on Rapin, l. p. 823.

† For the particulars relating to these matters, the curious reader may consult the *Monast. Anglic.*

or dissipated by various kinds of mismanagement. The parliament, indeed, committed an egregious error in putting into the hands of the king the immense wealth of the monasteries, without making any provision in respect of its employment.* But in this reign, the parliament being only the instrument of the royal will, examined neither motives nor consequences.

The suppression of the monasteries gave great satisfaction to the adherents of the reformation. But the parliament, by another instance of obsequiousness to the royal authority, soon damped their joy. An

April 28th,
A. D. 1539.

act was passed under the direction of the king, for abolishing diversity of opinion, in matters of religion. By this statute it was enacted, that those should be hanged or burned as heretics—1st. Who should by word or writing, deny the doctrine of transubstantiation.—2d. Who maintained that communion in both kinds was necessary.—

* The priories of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, of which there were only two, viz. that of St. John's, Clerkenwell, and that of Kilmainham, in Ireland, were suppressed by act of parliament, and not by surrender; yet the parliament gave the whole of their revenue to the king, who allowed £3000. per ann. to the two priors and the knights for their maintenance. Of this sum the prior of Clerkenwell had a £1000. and the prior of Kilmainham £500; the rest was distributed among the knights. Vide Rapis, with Tindal's notes, l. p. 825. Burnet, l. p. 275.

3d. Or that it was lawful for priests to marry.—Or 4th. That vows of chastity may be broken.—5th. Or that private masses are unprofitable.—6th. Or that auricular confession is unnecessary to salvation. This law of the six articles was commonly called the bloody statute, and, together with the acts which abolished the papal authority, put into the hands of the king a two-edged weapon, which he could turn at his pleasure against both his catholic and protestant subjects.* Cranmer ventured to oppose the bill; but after it had passed, he sent away his wife into Germany.

Thomas lord Cromwell, the king's vicerent in ecclesiastical affairs, and the chief promoter of the suppression of the monasteries, had hitherto been in great favour with the tyrant, and possessed a more extensive authority than any other minister since cardinal Wolsey. A storm, however, unexpectedly arose, which he found it impossible to resist. The queen, Jane Seymour, had not enjoyed the charms of royalty much longer than her unfortunate predecessor. In the month of October, 1537, she died in child-

* This year, however, Henry permitted all his subjects to read the scriptures in English. Rapin, l. p. 824.

bed of a son;* and, during the space of two years, the king had remained a widower. Cranmer and Cromwell perceiving the decline of their influence at court, were desirous of having a queen that might strengthen their party, and undertook to negotiate a marriage between Henry and the princess Anne, sister to the duke of Cleves and the duchess of Saxony. The negotiation was committed to Cromwell, who conducted it with a fatal diligence, and soon concluded the treaty. But, on the arrival of the princess in England, the king, to his great disappointment, found her person so different from what her picture had led him to expect, that he asked if they had brought him a Flander's mare.† Political reasons, however, induced him to do violence to his inclination, and the marriage was solemnized; but Cromwell, who had drawn him into this contract, felt the weight of his resentment.

Jan. 6th,
A. D. 1540.

As soon as it was observed that the favourite had fallen under the royal displeasure, his enemies resolved to accomplish his ruin. This was the more easy to perform, as the king was already fallen in love with Catharine Howard,

* Edward VI. who succeeded to the throne.

† Tindal's notes on Rapin, l. p. 825.

niece to the duke of Norfolk, who was one of Cromwell's chief adversaries, and whose efforts, seconded by those of bishop Gardiner and others, produced the desired effect. The duke accused Cromwell of high treason before the council, and procured an order for his arrest. The affair being brought before parliament, the king caused an act of attainder to be passed against him, without allowing him to make any defence. But as Cromwell himself had proceeded in the same manner against others,* he had no right to complain. The parliament, therefore, without any proof, condemned him as a traitor and a

July 28th,
A. D. 1540.

heretic. About six weeks after he was beheaded; but, as he left a son, he took care to say nothing on the scaffold that might turn to his prejudice.† He declared that he willingly submitted to his sentence: he prayed for the prosperity of the king, and addressed the people in these words: "I pray you that hear me, to bear record that I die in the catholic religion, not doubting in any article of the faith, not doubting in any sacrament of the church." This de-

* The marchioness of Exeter and the countess of Salisbury, mother of cardinal Pole, both of them ladies of the blood royal. Rap. l. p. 822.

† His son was the same year created a peer of the realm by the title of lord Cromwell.

claration, however, left it doubtful whether he meant the catholic religion as professed before or since the late innovations. Thus died Thomas Cromwell, who, from an obscure station, had successively risen to the offices and dignities of privy counsellor, principal secretary of state, master of the rolls, lord privy seal, the king's vicegerent in spiritual affairs, knight of the garter, earl of Essex, and great chamberlain of England.* He was the son of a blacksmith at Putney, but had found means to travel into foreign countries, and to learn foreign languages, and had been a soldier in the duke of Bourbon's army at the sacking of Rome. On his return into England, he became a servant of cardinal Wolsey; and, after the fall of that minister, the king took him into his service. He was an artful courtier, and by his pliability of temper and assiduous flatteries, he had gained over the king an entire ascendancy. He had long been a successful adventurer in the lottery of life; but his fall, like that of Wolsey, and many other great men, shews the instability of fortune.†

* *Stowe's Mem.* 1. p. 362. *Dugd. Baron.* 2. p. 370.

† By an act of parliament, passed in 1539, Cromwell had the precedence over all the nobility of the realm.

Henry being daily more disgusted with his bride, resolved on a divorce; and the parliament and the clergy, with their usual compliance, pronounced the marriage invalid, under pretence of a pre-contract between the queen and a son of the duke of Lorraine. The affair, indeed, was terminated without difficulty. The queen, who had as little affection for Henry as he had for her, readily consented to the divorce, and had an ample provision made for her maintenance.

The tyranny of the king, and the abject slavery of the nation, must appear astonishing to every reader of the history of this reign. Never did a king meet with so servile a parliament and so submissive a people. It was enacted that a royal proclamation should have all the force of an act of parliament; and by another statute it was ordered, not only that whatever the king believed and enjoined, but also whatever he should at any future period believe or enjoin, in regard to religion, should be received as articles of faith. Thus the parliament invested the king with all the infallibility to which the Pope had ever pretended; and every subject, who did not profess to regard the royal opinion as the standard of belief and practice, was liable to be condemned to the flames as a heretic.

Such a system of religious and political tyranny could not fail of producing its appropriate effects. Soon after Cromwell's death, a spectacle was exhibited in London, of which the relation must cause an Englishman of the present day to shudder with astonishment and horror. Six persons, three of whom were accused of denying the king's supremacy and infallibility, and the three others of maintaining the doctrines of the reformation, were condemned for heresy, and all of them burned at the same time and place.

While the fires of Smithfield were indiscriminately consuming both catholics and protestants, Catharine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk, was declared queen. She was strongly attached to the duke, her uncle, and to bishop Gardiner, who were the avowed enemies of the reformation. And the choice which Henry had made of this lady to share his bed and his throne, had an ominous aspect for Cranmer, who, since the death of Cromwell, was left at the head of a declining party. The new queen, however, did not long enjoy her elevation ; and if any judgment can be formed from circumstances, the archbishop appears to have been at the bottom of the plan that was laid for her ruin.

August 8th,
A. D. 1540.

Henry seemed perfectly happy in his marriage, and so great was his satisfaction on the account, that, desiring to express his gratitude to heaven in a manner suitable to the sentiments of his heart, he ordered his confessor, the bishop of Lincoln, to draw up a particular form of thanksgiving. While he thus shewed his esteem and tender affection for the queen, she appeared to have the same fondness for him, and nothing seemed capable of disturbing so happy an union. But a discovery, which he little expected, put an end to this scene of matrimonial felicity. The king took a journey to York, and during his absence, a person, named Lassels, informed the archbishop of Canterbury that his sister, an old servant of the duchess dowager of Norfolk, had told him that the queen had been guilty of lewdness both before and after her marriage. Henry was no sooner returned to London, than Cranmer acquainted him with the affair. Lassels being privately examined, his report was corroborated by the evidence of his sister. Two of the duchess of Norfolk's domestics were accused of a criminal correspondence with the queen. Being apprehended and examined, they are said to have confessed their guilt, and to have deposed, that three court ladies, her confidants,

had successively lain in the same bed with them when one of them lay with the queen, a fact which appears incredible. One of these three was lady Rochford, who had accused her husband of a criminal commerce with his sister, Anna Boleyn. A man, named Culpepper, was also accused of an amorous intrigue with the queen, and, together with the two domestics, was executed at Tyburn.

The queen being examined by the archbishop of Canterbury, is said to have confessed her prostitution previous to her marriage.* The impartial historian must remark, and the reader will undoubtedly observe, in this transaction, as well as in most others of a similar nature in this and some preceding reigns, a strange jumble of inconsistencies and improbabilities, such as generally mark the intrigues of a corrupt and unprincipled court. The result was, that the queen, and lady Rochford, were condemned by an act of

Feb. 12th, attainder, and were both beheaded
A. D. 1542. on Tower Hill. It is said that the
queen, at her execution, acknowledged the
lewdness of her life before marriage, but
declared, upon her salvation, that she had
never been unfaithful to her matrimonial

* Vide lord Herb. of Cherbury, p. 228.

vow; and, if this was true, she was not guilty of any crime that was worthy of death. As to lady Rochford, she died unlamented; but her execution served to raise the reputation of her husband, lord Rochford, and queen Anna Boleyn, whose death was procured by her evidence, which the discovery of her own crimes caused to be universally suspected.

The parliament, at this time, filled up the measure of its servility and folly. A statute was made, enacting, that if the king, or his successors, should intend to marry a woman as a virgin, if she, not being such, did not declare that she had lost her virginity, she should be guilty of high treason. A modern reader would think it impossible to find a body of men, who should lay claim to reason, and yet be capable of giving a sanction to such absurdities.

Henry having established, in England, a despotism equal to that of the grand seignior, was now at leisure to attend to foreign affairs. He revived the old pretensions of the crown of England to the right of homage from the kings of Scotland; and the duke of Norfolk was sent to invade that country. The war was not distinguished by any brilliant actions, or important effects. It was chiefly a series of skirmishes and inroads, destructive to the

frontier provinces of the two countries.* A war, in which Henry engaged with France, was of no greater importance. The injuries of individuals are soon forgotten amidst the considerations of policy; and notwithstanding the enmity of the emperor against the king of England, on the subject of queen Catharine's divorce, these two monarchs entered into a league against France, A. D. 1544. and invaded that kingdom with two armies, making, together, a force of a hundred thousand men. Francis I. had only sixty thousand troops to oppose this formidable attack; but the errors of the invaders, and the want of concert in their operations, proved the safety of his kingdom. Their original plan was to march directly towards Paris, and to join their whole force in the vicinity of that capital; but Henry, on his arrival at Calais, finding the emperor occupied at the siege of St. Didier, immediately invested Boulogne. After the reduction of St. Didier, Charles advanced to Chateau Thierry, and filled Paris with consternation. But the English monarch, instead of proceeding to join him, continued the siege of Boulogne,

* See a document from Haynes's State Papers in Robertson's Hist. Scot. 1. p. 125.

which held out till the 14th of September. From this circumstance a misunderstanding arose between the two great allies. The emperor concluded a separate peace with Francis. Henry being at the same time informed that the Dauphin was marching towards Boulogne, left a strong garrison in that place, and embarked with precipitation for England, while his army retreated to Calais. The following year was spent in negotiations; and on the 1st January, 1546, a treaty of peace was concluded between Henry and Francis. The French monarch agreed to pay all the sums due to England: Henry was to retain Boulogne till the money was paid; and Scotland was included in the treaty. Thus, Francis was, by his dexterity and good fortune, freed from this powerful combination; and Henry, amused by promises that were never performed, terminated, by the capture of Boulogne, a war which had for its object the recovery of the ancient possessions of the English, in France. But the plans of this monarch, in regard to foreign politics, never produced any thing more than trifling consequences.

Though the matrimonial adventures of Henry were marked by three divorces, and his hands were stained by the blood of two

wives, yet the splendours of royalty had charms for female ambition; and Catharine Par, the widow of lord Latimer, ventured to share his bed and his throne. She was a friend to the reformation, but she carefully concealed her sentiments, and beheld with horror the cruel executions of persons accused of heresy, without daring to intercede in their favour. All her caution, however, was scarcely sufficient to insure her safety. Having, in her discourses with the king, ventured to express some opinions which did not exactly coincide with his standard of belief, she so greatly incurred his displeasure that he signed an order for her commitment to the Tower. Though the queen concluded herself lost, her presence of mind did not forsake her. She declared to the king, that if she had assumed too much freedom in speaking of religion, it was solely with a view of amusing him by conversing on subjects on which he delighted to talk, and which no one better understood, and that if she had sometimes started objections it was only to obtain from him an explanation of things too high for any common understanding, and thus to receive instruction from his extraordinary wisdom. By this dexterous flattery the queen averted the storm by which

she was menaced, and was again received into favour. Indeed the only method of keeping on fair terms with the tyrant was to acknowledge his opinions as the dictates of wisdom and the standard of religion. Inferior theologians may dispute concerning articles of faith ; but Henry's arguments were always supported by the executioner, and were consequently irresistible.

While the reader of history observes with regret how many, even great and good princes, have perished by assassination as well as by open rebellion, he will, in reviewing the reign of Henry VIII. be somewhat astonished that no attempt was ever made against the life of a tyrant who was an object of terror and detestation to his subjects. Nature, however, at length was kindly willing to free the world from a monster whom the patience of man forbore to destroy. Henry had been for some time afflicted with a disorder in his leg, which, together with his extreme corpulency, rendered him unable to stir ; and the pains that he suffered seemed rather to augment than abate the ferocity of his disposition. Several of his favourites had fallen victims to his caprice and resentment ; and he now resolved to sacrifice the duke of Norfolk, and his son, the earl of Surrey, to his jealousy.

The duke was an able general and an artful courtier. The earl was a nobleman of distinguished courage and brilliant accomplishments. These two lords had outwardly complied with the innovations in religion; but they inwardly favoured the Pope. Henry, who was not unacquainted with their sentiments, apprehended that after his death they might, with the assistance of the emperor and his allies, exclude his son Edward from the succession, place his daughter Mary on the throne, and effect a reconciliation with the see of Rome. As the king perceived that his end was approaching, he resolved not to leave behind him two noblemen who appeared so capable of disturbing his son's minority. Pretexts are seldom wanting to those who are possessed of power. It was insinuated that the earl aspired to the hand of the princess Mary, that he had used the arms of Edward, the Confessor, in his escutcheon, and that the duke, his father, had left in his own a blank where they might be inserted. On these accusations they were sent to the Tower. The earl being brought to trial, his sister, the duchess of Richmond, was one of his chief accusers. But there appeared nothing sufficient to convict him of treason. From his giving of St. Edward's

arms, however, it was inferred that he aspired to the crown; and on this charge he was condemned and executed on Tower Hill; but his sentence was regarded as an act of great injustice, and his death was universally lamented. The duke was soon after condemned by an act of attainder; and Henry gave orders for his execution. Providence, however, confounds all the power and policy of man, when acting in opposition to his decrees. The day was appointed for the execution; but the duke of Norfolk met with an unexpected reprieve by the death of the king,

Jan. 29th,
A. D. 1547.

who expired the night before, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his reign. Nothing is a greater proof of the terror with which he had inspired his courtiers than this circumstance, that while his disease continually increased, no one dared to warn him of his approaching end. Every one was afraid that the tyrant, who was never approached without dread, should regard the charitable admonition as a crime, and punish it by virtue of an act of parliament, by which those who dared to foretel the king's death were declared guilty of treason.* At length Sir Anthony Denny,

* Rapin 1. p. 848.

one of his privy counsellors, had the courage and charity to warn him that he had only a few hours to live. Henry thanked the courtier for his friendly admonition, and, expressing great sorrow for his sins, soon after expired amidst the horrors of a troubled conscience.

The character of Henry VIII. is sufficiently delineated in the history of his reign. He was a tyrant in religion, a tyrant in government, and a tyrant in his family. Inflated with the pedantic learning then taught in the schools, and his fancied skill in theology, he considered his own opinions as the only true standard of faith. Flattery contributed to feed his vanity, and confirm his prejudices: the clergy declared that in knowledge he surpassed all the divines of the age, and the courtiers extolled him as the greatest of princes. It is difficult to discover in his character one good quality to put into the balance against his numerous vices: some, indeed, have extolled his liberality; but in kings this is at the best only a misplaced virtue. The liberalities of those princes, who are celebrated by historians for their munificence, were generally extorted from the poor, the industrious, and useful, and bestowed on the rich, the powerful, and insinuating. Had Henry employed the vast wealth of the mo-

nasteries for the benefit of the state, he would have merited the applause of posterity. But his profusion kept pace with his acquisitions, and these immense riches were bestowed on the sycophants of the court, the flatterers of his passions, and the encouragers of his crimes. Henry was extremely unskilful in foreign politics : "Vanity and resentment," says a modern historian, "were the great "springs of all his undertakings ; and his "neighbours easily found the way by touch- "ing these to force him upon rash and incon- "sistent enterprises. His reign was a per- "petual series of blunders in politics; and, "while he esteemed himself the wisest prince "in Europe, he was a constant dupe to those "who found it necessary, and could submit "to flatter him."* In fact, he was constantly the dupe of Charles V. and Francis I. who then swayed the destinies of Europe. In his system of foreign politics, it is difficult to discover any judicious and settled plan; and whatever benefit resulted to the nation from any of his measures, may be considered as merely accidental.

The greatest wonder of the reign of Henry VIII. is, the degrading servility of the Eng-

* Dr. Robertson's Hist. of Scotland, vol. b. 1. p. 102.

lish, so different from the turbulent disposition which they had formerly manifested, and the tameness with which the nobility, clergy, and commons, submitted to his tyranny. The parliament, and the convocation, were, as already observed, the mere organs of his will, and the passive instruments of his power. Such a state of things, exhibiting a picture of Asiatic despotism, can be accounted for only by considering the change which had taken place in popular ideas and public opinion. The power of the clergy had long given umbrage to the nobles; and their scandalous lives had greatly diminished the respect in which they had been held by the people. These causes had greatly facilitated the progress of the reformation in Germany, from whence it had spread into England. Different opinions on religion divided the nation into factions, and the king held the balance. The nobility readily assisted him in depressing the clergy; and the people were not displeased to see the humiliation of that body. From that step he proceeded to the suppression of the monasteries; and the parliament, by leaving their revenues at his disposal, threw, into his hands, such ample means of corruption, as greatly tended to establish his absolute

authority. By halting in the half way between the old religion and Luther's reformation, he cherished the hopes of both parties, who endeavoured to gain him to their side by compliance. In fine, religious disputes had so divided the people, that Henry, availing himself of the universal weakness, produced by universal dissension, became, without difficulty, the tyrant of all.

This reign, however, notwithstanding its despotism, and the crimes by which it was sullied, was a time of national improvement. A variety of exotic fruits, and other vegetables, now naturalized among us, were, at this period, introduced into England. Beer had, from time immemorial, been the common beverage in this country, and to make it keep, it was bittered with wormwood, or other bitter herbs ; but about the year 1525, hops were introduced from Artois.* These improvements were owing to the circumstances of the times, and the industry of the people, rather than to any efforts of the monarch. Commerce and civilization had made a considerable progress ; and throughout Europe, the human mind was beginning to display those energies, which had long been buried in the gloom of obscurity.

* Munkets were invented in this reign. And. Hist. Com. 2. p. 45.

EDWARD VI.



HENRY VIII. had, by his last will, assigned the succession to his son, Edward, and his posterity : in case of the failure of that line, the crown was to devolve on his daughter, Mary, and her issue, and on his other daughter, Elizabeth;^a and her descendants, in case of the extinction of the two elder branches. He had also appointed a regency, of sixteen persons, to govern the kingdom during the minority of the young prince, who was little more than nine years of age ; and to these he had added, twelve privy counsellors, to assist them in the administration. This form of government was no sooner settled, than a new arrangement was made. It was alleged, that a regency, composed of so many members of equal authority, was ill adapted to negotiation with foreign powers ; and Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, the king's uncle, with whom the measure probably originated, was placed at the head of affairs, with the title of protector of the realm, and governor of the king's

person. He was then created duke of Somerset; and titles and honours were conferred on the other regents in conformity to the intentions of the deceased king.

A government thus constituted could scarcely fail of becoming a scene of intrigue, cabal, and corruption. The coronation of

Feb. 20th,
A. D. 1547. Edward VI. was no sooner solemnized, than the protector contrived a plan for raising his own power, by setting aside the authority of his colleagues in the regency. Under the pretence that the French ambassador had expressed a doubt whether he could safely treat with him until his title was more fully confirmed, he obtained permission to draw up a patent, under the great seal of the kingdom, by which the king gave him full authority to act as he might, in his wisdom, think fit, and reduced his colleagues to the state of mere counsellors, a proceeding which entirely destroyed the form of government established by the testament of Henry VIII. and confirmed by the parliament. The protector now having all in his own power, paid little regard to his council, and began to govern with an absolute authority, which greatly disgusted the nobles.

The death of Henry VIII. might be regarded as a crisis in religion. He had always

steered a middle course between the Romish religion and that of the reformers. The alterations which he had made concerned only the articles which were either directly or indirectly contrary to his temporal power, or his ecclesiastical supremacy. His religion was a system of sanguinary intolerance, which has never been surpassed by the court of inquisition; and if the reformation had proceeded no farther, it certainly could not have been considered as a national benefit. The reign of Edward VI. was the period in which the reformation began to be carried into real effect. The duke of Somerset, the protector, Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of York, Lincoln, and Ely, Drs. Ridley and Latimer, who had been imprisoned by the late king, and were now liberated, were the chiefs of the reformers. At the head of the papal party were the princess Mary, the late chancellor Wriothesly, the earl of Southampton, Tonsal, bishop of Durham, with Bonner and Gardiner, bishops of London and Winchester; and these were supported by the majority of the inferior clergy, consisting chiefly of the ejected friars who had been recommended to livings. The king himself was strongly attached to the reformation, although, at his early years, his

religious opinions must be considered not as his own but rather as those of his preceptor. The people were divided into three parties: those who had imbibed the doctrines of the reformers: those who adhered to the Pope; and those who were still attached to the catholic religion, but rejected the papal authority. The strength of these parties were now to be tried; and the protector, who was zealous for the reformation, resolved to begin by ordering a general visitation of the churches, for the purpose of abolishing what he considered as abuses.

At this juncture a rupture with Scotland diverted the protector's attention from his principal design. The late king had negotiated a treaty of marriage between his son Edward and the young queen of Scotland,* which the Scots had refused to ratify. Henry had, therefore, resolved on a war with Scotland, and the protector and his council, adhering to his maxims, adopted this extraordinary method of wooing a queen by carrying fire and sword into the heart of her country.

Sept 2d,
A. D. 1547. The duke of Somerset entered Scotland with an army of 13,000 foot and 5,000 horse; and at the same time a fleet

* The unfortunate Mary who was afterwards put to death by queen Elizabeth.

of sixty sail appeared on the coast to second his operations. The Scots were prepared to resist the invasion: their army consisted of 30,000 men, with thirty pieces of cannon; and they had taken an advantageous position on a rising ground above Musselburgh, near the banks of the Eske.*

The protector justly alarmed at the strength of the enemy, and desirous of extricating himself from the dangers of his situation, made overtures of peace on terms which the Scots might have considered as extremely advantageous. But the proposal was rejected with disdain.† Hatred to England, founded on the memory of past hostilities, and heightened by the smart of recent injuries, was the national passion of the Scots, and their impetuosity proved the ruin of their army. Their general, confiding in his superiority of numbers, and only fearing that the English should escape by flight, left his advantageous position, and attacked the duke of
Sept. 10th, A. D. 1547. Somerset in the fields of Pinkey, with no better success than his rashness deserved. The duke having drawn up his troops on an eminence, had now the advantage of ground on his side. The Scottish

* Vide Buchan, lib. 15.

† For the conditions see Rapin, vol. 2. book 16.

army consisted almost entirely of infantry, armed with long spears, and for that reason their files were very deep, and their ranks very close.* The Scots advanced in three firm and compact columns, which easily resisted the impression of the English cavalry, and drove them off the field. But the infantry advancing, and the Scots being exposed to the fire of the English artillery, which the protector had placed in a commanding situation, as also to that of the fleet, which lay in the bay of Musselburgh, and had drawn close to the shore, in a short time their whole army was totally routed. The battle was neither long nor sanguinary, but the pursuit continued several hours, and to a great distance. The three roads by which the Scots fled were strewed with spears, swords, and targets, and covered with the bodies of the slain. The Scots had above ten thousand killed; a few were made prisoners; and the protector might have made himself master of a kingdom, from which, a few hours before, he was on the point of being obliged to retire with disgrace.† But this victory, though splendid, was of no real utility. The Eng-

* The length of the Scottish spear or pike was fixed at eighteen feet six inches. Dr. Robert. Hist. Scot. 1. p. 137, marginal note.

† Dr. Robertson's Hist. Scot. 1. p. 136. Rapin says that 14,000 men were killed and 1,500 made prisoners. Rapin, Hist. Eng. 2. p. 8.

lish, indeed, took Leith, and plundered Edinburgh, and the duke of Somerset might probably have conquered, or at least ravaged the whole kingdom, had not the critical state of his affairs at home obliged him to abandon his enterprise. That cabal which brought him at length to his tragical end was already formed, and while he triumphed in Scotland, his enemies in London were undermining his power and contriving his ruin. Self-preservation, therefore, impelled him to prefer safety before fame, and to return without reaping the fruits of his victory.

The protector, though a favourite of the king and the people, was envied and hated by the nobility. Relying on royal and popular favour, he consulted only such of the regents as he had gained to his interests, and having thus assumed the sole administration of the kingdom, he not only adopted the arbitrary maxims of Henry VIII. but raised himself above the rest of the nobles by a display of external pomp, extremely offensive to feudal pride. His brother, the admiral Thomas Seymour, was one of his most inveterate enemies. Ambition alone can be assigned as the cause of this unnatural quarrel. The admiral was proud, haughty, and aspiring, and could not, without envy,

behold the difference that was made between him and his brother the duke of Somerset, although both were uncles to the young king. Immediately after Henry's decease, he gave a proof of his ambition by making his addresses to the princess Elizabeth; but not being likely to succeed, he turned his attention to Catharine Par, the queen dowager, and having soon won her heart, he privately married her, and afterwards obtained the king's consent to the match, without acquainting his brother, the protector, of the circumstance. The duke being a person of great moderation, overlooked the affront; but this was only the first developement of the admiral's ambition. He thought himself by his birth and his natural endowments as worthy as his brother of having a share in the administration, and he formed the project of supplanting the duke, by insinuating himself into the king's favour, and making a party among the nobility. The enemies of the protector often brought the king to the admiral's house, under pretence of visiting his mother-in-law. These visits afforded to the admiral an opportunity of making his court to the young monarch, by furnishing him with money from his private purse.* He also distributed pre-

* Burnet, 2. p. 53 and 54.

sents to such as might serve him in his designs, and incessantly laboured to supplant his brother. The protector being informed of these intrigues, terminated abruptly his campaign in Scotland, and returned suddenly to London. The admiral, although he had the king on his side, soon perceived that a young prince of ten years of age would not have sufficient resolution to support him against the protector and his council, and was glad to feign a reconciliation. But he soon shewed that he had not relinquished his projects. He still continued his endeavours to inspire the king with a dislike of his ministers; and the protector, who was not ignorant of his designs, constantly kept spies about his person to watch his proceedings.

The commissioners appointed to visit the churches having made their report, it was found that all the bishops had complied with the orders of the council, except Bonner, of London, and Gardiner, of Winchester, who were committed to prison.* The parliament

Nov. 3d,
A. D. 1547.

being about to meet, the protector obtained a patent under the great seal, authorizing him to sit on the right hand of the throne, under the cloth of state. This proceeding evidently shewed that the duke of

* Snyde, p. 68.

Somerset's intention was to raise himself superior to all, and to set aside even the forms of the regency. His patent, indeed, had been approved by the council as well as by the king. But it was sufficiently known that the king was under his directions, and the council at his command.

The parliament being assembled, proceeded to the repeal of several oppressive acts passed in the late reign ; and some statutes which favoured the reformation were enacted. This, indeed, was the object which the protector had chiefly at heart, and in which he was strongly supported by the archbishop of Canterbury. In the beginning of the following

Jan. 28th, year, the council made several alterations in respect of religion.* Certain ceremonies used on particular days were abolished : the practice of auricular confession hitherto imposed as an indispensable duty, was left to every person's discretion ; and a few days afterwards a decree was published, ordering the removal of all images from the churches.

During the whole of the summer, a number of commissioners, consisting of eighteen bishops, with several deans, and some other divines, were employed in reforming the

* Heylin, p. 65.

offices of the church.* But they were so far from being unanimous in their opinions, that eight of the bishops protested against the alterations that were made. The majority, however, like the Pope, and the conclave of cardinals, declared that they acted under the influence of the Holy Ghost, and as soon as the parliament met an act was passed to confirm the new liturgy, and another by which the clergy were permitted to marry.

In the mean while the quarrel between the protector, and his brother the admiral, broke out again with increased virulence. It would be absurd to attempt to investigate the dark intrigues of those corrupt times, and equally useless and vain to quote what historians have advanced from conjecture rather than evidence. The result was, that the admiral being accused of forming a conspiracy against the government, was committed to the Tower.† He demanded a public trial, and to be confronted with his accusers; but although he was a peer of the realm, lord high admiral of England, and uncle to the king, this just and reasonable request was denied. The affair being brought before the parliament, he was condemned by a bill of attainder at

* Collier's Eccles. Hist. vol. 2. p. 254, &c.

† Vide Burnet 2. p. 97, &c. to p. 100.

every reading, of which, in the house of lords, the protector was present. This mode of proceeding resembled the trials in the reign of Henry VIII. The admiral, without ever March 20th, A. D. 1549. being called to make his defence, was sentenced to death, and soon after beheaded on the scaffold.

The reformers, in rejecting some of the ceremonies and doctrines of the church of Rome, had retained the worst part of her system, her persecuting spirit; and although, as a modern writer observes, they so zealously opposed the papal tyranny, they were far from adopting the principles of a liberal toleration.* The council being informed that several German anabaptists were come into England, and fearing that they should propagate their doctrines, commissioned Cranmer, and some others, to apprehend and try them for heresy. On this occasion an unfortunate English woman, named Joanna Bocher, commonly called Joan of Kent, having imbibed their opinions, and conscientiously refusing to abjure what she conceived to be the truth, was condemned as an heretic, and sentenced to be burned. But the young king shewed an extreme reluctance to sign the warrant for her execution, declaring, that

* Millar's Hist. Eng. gov. 2. p. 455.

in his opinion, the sentence was unjust and cruel. Archbishop Cranmer, who had great influence over him, was employed to overcome his scruples. At length, the king, silenced rather than convinced by Cranmer's arguments, signed the warrant with tears in his eyes, telling him that if he did wrong it was in deference to his authority, and that he must answer for it before the tribunal of God. The lenient and liberal sentiments of the prince form a striking contrast with those of an intolerant bigot, and his words would, perhaps, be remembered by Cranmer, when he himself, about six years afterwards, fell a victim to unrelenting persecutors. But the death of this unhappy woman was not a sacrifice sufficient to appease the dæmon of persecution. About two years afterwards George Van Pare was burned in Smithfield, for denying the divinity of Christ.* However his opinions might be disapproved, he was a man of exemplary piety, and consequently deserved a more lenient treatment. These scenes of horror gave rise to a just remark of the Romanists, that the reformers condemned persecution only where they themselves were its objects.

* Burnet, 2. p. 112.

The records of history are mostly confined to the actions and fortunes of those who have worn crowns or conducted armies, or have otherwise made a conspicuous figure on the political theatre. From the nature of things, indeed, history can scarcely consist of other materials. The still life of private society may be celebrated by the poet; but the historian can catch only the prominent features of public affairs. Sometimes, however, history developes such circumstances as tend to exhibit a picture of the state of the people, that class which constitutes the great mass of mankind. From the reign of Henry III. or even from an earlier period, we perceive the gradual but very slow progress of English liberty, the result of increasing commerce and wealth, of contests between the king and the nobles, and of improvements in the legislature. But as it has already been observed,* the blessings of freedom were extended only to particular classes of men, and even in the reign of Edward VI. the state of the peasantry seems not to have been ameliorated. During the two preceding reigns, indeed, but especially since the accession of Henry VIII. certain circumstances had created unusual embarrass-

* See reign of Richard II.

ments to that numerous body of men. The increase of trade and luxury, in almost every part of Europe, had greatly increased the consumption of cloth and the demand for wool, which had been, for time immemorial, the staple commodity of England. The keeping of sheep was, therefore, considered as more beneficial than the culture of corn; and the great proprietors of land inclosed their fields, by which the cultivators were deprived of employment. Monopoly also contributed to increase the evil. An act of parliament of the 25th Henry VIII. A. D. 1534 informs us, that some individuals kept above twenty thousand sheep, and so engrossed the trade of sheep and wool that the price of the former was doubled, and that of the latter almost trebled. By this kind of monopoly, according to the declaration of the act, the working husbandman was deprived of employment, the cloth manufacture exceedingly injured, the country depopulated, and provisions raised to an exorbitant price.* The scarcity of corn had, indeed, become so great, that it had sometimes more than doubled its value.†

* The monopoly seems to have been the chief cause of these evils, and to this we may also add the defective state of agriculture in those days. Perhaps as many sheep are now kept, at least it appears certain that more wool is now produced in England than in the reign of Henry VIII. but without any of the ill consequences here stated.

† Vide And. Hist. Comm. 2. p. 58, &c.

This statute enacts, that no person should keep more than 2,600 sheep, exclusive of lambs, except on his own lands of inheritance; and that no person should hold more than two farms, on one of which he should be obliged to reside; but it did not limit ecclesiastics. Several other acts, for preventing the increase of inclosures, &c. are mentioned by our annalists and parliamentary registers, as also for the repair of decayed towns, which latter have been considered by some as evident proofs of a decreased population. The truth of this inference, however, is far from being clear.* It is not to be questioned that from the death of Henry V. to the establishment of Edward IV. on the throne, population had greatly decreased; for during the former part of the reign of Henry VI. France had been a continual drain to England; and the civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster must have considerably thinned the people. But in the reigns of Richard III. and Henry VII. the population was very little diminished either by foreign wars, or by the internal commotions, which were far more troublesome than sanguinary. We find that Henry VII. enacted laws against inclosures, in order to

diminish the quantity of grazing, and increase that of arable land. Inclosures had therefore begun to be common in his time; and a writer, distinguished for laborious investigation, remarks that they were not the causes but the effects of depopulation; and that the number of people had been decreasing ever since the commencement of the civil wars.* He is also of opinion that the wages of manufacturers induced the working people to neglect agriculture, and that the owners of lands having in consequence fewer labourers, were obliged to turn their attention to grazing. But in the reign of Henry VIII. the chief causes of depopulation had ceased; and from the continued complaints against inclosures, as well as from the declarations of the parliament, it appears it was not the want of labourers, but the monopoly of sheep and the increased demand for wool, that occasioned the continuance of a system at that time so reprobated, but at this day found so beneficial.†

But, in the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII. and that of Edward VI. a train of particular circumstances pressed hard on the lower class of the peasantry. And the disorders which flowed from the dissolution

* Camp. Polit. Survey, vol. 2. p. 428, 464.

† Every agriculturist now knows the beneficial effects of inclosures.

of the monasteries, shew that it requires a nice political hand to overturn ancient institutions without producing dangerous effects. While these houses existed, their lands were let at an easy rent to farmers, who employed a great number of labourers. But after those lands were fallen into the hands of the nobility and gentry, the rents were greatly raised, and the farmers were obliged to do their work with fewer hands. All these causes concurred to promote a grazing in preference to an arable system, and consequently to diminish the quantity of labour, while it increased the price of provisions. Many small farms were also united and converted into extensive sheep walks, while the former occupiers were deprived of the usual means of subsistence, and the whole arrangement of husbandry was converted into an oppressive system of monopoly. A considerable number of the ejected friars, whose scanty pensions were ill paid, also found themselves under the necessity of working for their livelihood; and thus, a variety of circumstances contributed to increase the number of labourers, as well as to diminish the demand for labour. The lower sort of the peasantry were in consequence reduced to a starving condition, and obliged to work for wages that would not procure

them subsistence; and, to complete their misery, the parliament had passed an act, ordaining, that if any one loitered three days without employment, or offering himself to work, he should be adjudged a slave for two years, to any one that would seize his person and bring him before two justices of the peace, and be marked with the letter V. for vagabond, imprinted on his breast with a red hot iron.* This unprecedented tyranny drove the populace to despair. In Wiltshire and Somersetshire they flew to arms; but they were soon dispersed, and some of them taken and executed. Similar insurrections also took place in Hampshire, Sussex, Kent, Essex, Suffolk, Gloucestershire, Hertfordshire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Leicestershire, and Rutlandshire, and the whole kingdom was threatened with universal anarchy.

A. D. 1549. The protector had ever been a supporter of the popular cause, and his endeavours to alleviate the miseries of the peasantry had increased the hatred of the nobles against his person and administration. Perceiving that the flames of rebellion were rapidly spreading through the kingdom, the protector informed the people that

* Rapin, vol. 2. p. 10.

he was ready to redress their grievances. But having brought the affair before the council, he met with so great an opposition, that he set aside its decisions, and resolving to act by his own authority, published a proclamation against new inclosures, and granted a pardon for all that was past. He also appointed commissioners to hear and determine causes concerning inclosures, highways, and cottages. The nobility and gentry considered the measure as an arbitrary invasion of their privileges and property, and openly opposed the commissioners in the execution of their office. The protector, being, therefore, unable to redress the grievances as he had promised, the people again flew to arms in several parts of the kingdom; but Devonshire, Oxfordshire, Norfolk, and Yorkshire, were the provinces in which the insurrections were the most formidable. The insurgents of Devonshire, in particular, presented to the lord Russell, the king's general, a memorial, which shewed that a great part of their discontent arose from the innovations in religion, as they required that it should be restored nearly to the state in which it was left at the end of the preceding reign. To this demand were added several others of a temporal nature, founded

on a levelling principle. These demands being rejected by the court, different armies were put in motion, under the lords Russell and Grey, the marquis of Northampton, and the earl of Warwick. The insurgents being ignorant of tactics, and unable to procure regular supplies of provisions, were defeated in various actions; and, before the middle of August, were totally dispersed.

A. D. 1549. During these commotions, the protector who knew himself to be hated by the nobility, and was therefore desirous of popular favour, had constantly shewn himself averse to rigorous proceedings against the peasantry; and after the insurrections were quelled, he moved in the council for a general pardon. But the majority judging it expedient to curb the people by severe measures and bloody executions, the protector again met with so strong an opposition, that he resolved to act by his own authority. In virtue of his patent, he therefore published a general pardon, excepting only a few of the ringleaders, who had been taken in arms. This lenient procedure, however, contributed to inflame the nobles against the protector; and most of the counsellors were extremely exasperated on perceiving that they were consulted only for

the sake of form, and that their opposition had no weight.

While England was agitated by these commotions, the French king, Henry II. who had succeeded Francis I. considered it as a favourable opportunity of recovering Boulogne, without paying the money stipulated by the last treaty of peace. Without any declaration of war, he entered the territory of Boulogne at the head of an army, and immediately commenced the siege.

The protector now found himself in a difficult situation. The last campaign in Scotland had been unsuccessful, as the armies which had been destined to act against the Scots had been employed in quelling the insurrections. He was not ignorant that a powerful faction of the nobility was forming against him, and perceived the difficulties that must arise from being engaged in a war with France and Scotland. From these considerations, he proposed to the council the restitution of Boulogne. But he had now lost all his influence; and his proposal was rejected with indignation, and considered as a mark of cowardice.

The enemies of the protector now began to act in a more open manner; and, in order to facilitate the execution of their plan, they

used every means to destroy his reputation. They accused him of sacrificing his brother to his ambition, of favouring the popular insurrections, of assuming the sole administration of the government, of styling himself "by the grace of God, duke of Somerset," as if he had been a sovereign prince, of converting to his own use a portion of the public money, of letting the forts in the Boulonnois remain in an ill provided state, in order that their loss might render a peace with France absolutely necessary, and of demolishing the fort of Hadington, in Scotland, for a similar reason. But there was nothing that more strongly contributed to turn against him the current of public opinion, than the superb palace which he had erected in the Strand, and which has ever since been known by the name of Somerset house. In order to make room for this structure, he had pulled down the houses of the bishops of Worcester, Landaff, and Litchfield, as also a parish church, and for a further supply of materials, he had taken down a cloister, two chapels, and a charnel-house at St. Paul's, and the greatest part of the church of St. John of Jerusalem. This superb edifice, which was constructed in a style of elegance superior to any of the royal palaces, gave great umbrage not only to the nobility,

but also to the people, who considered it as a monument of ambition erected by sacrilege; and the duke began to lose his popularity at the same time that he was attacked by a hostile aristocracy.

The protector was not ignorant of the schemes that were laid for his ruin; and studied to render them abortive. For this purpose he placed his servants and creatures about the king, in order to prevent the opposite faction from becoming masters of his person. But this precaution served only to precipitate his fall. The lords of the council assembled to deliberate on the state of the kingdom, and after declaring the duke of Somerset the author of all the disorders, they convened the lord mayor, the aldermen, and common council of London, with the lieutenant of the Tower, and expressly forbade them to acknowledge him any longer as protector.

The duke, in the mean while, removed the king to Windsor, and armed a number of his dependents at that place and at Hampton court. This step furnished his enemies with fresh grounds of complaint. They went in a body to Guildhall, and declaring their intention of taking the king out of the hands of the duke of Somerset, obtained from the common council a promise of support. The

duke being apprized of all these proceedings, and conscious of his inability to make any resistance, offered to submit to the decision of the council, and was soon after committed to the Tower.

The earl of Warwick, who had been the most active in subverting the power of the protector, was now suffered, by the rest of the counsellors, to take upon him the principal part of the administration. The adherents of the old religion, gloried in this revolution, as they were fully persuaded that the earl was, in his heart, more catholic than protestant, and his strict union with the earl of Southampton, confirmed them in that opinion. But the earl of Warwick was not yet fully known : he was actuated solely by ambition, and had very little regard for any religion : he knew that the reformation was supported by the king, as well as by the majority of the people ; and considering its establishment as the surest means of promoting his interests, he immediately declared in its favour ; so that the hopes of the Romish party were completely disappointed.

Soon after this revolution in the regency,
the parliament met, and, together
with the earl of Warwick and the
council, pursued the former measures in re-

Nov. 4th.
A. D. 1549.

gard to the reformation. In order to prevent any future insurrection, the parliament passed a severe act against unlawful assemblies ; but the cruel statute of the first of this reign, against vagrants, was repealed. In the com-

men-
Jan. 2d,
A. D. 1550. mencement of the following year, a bill of attainder was passed against the protector, the duke of Somerset, who confessed himself guilty of all the crimes laid to his charge ; but declared, that he had no ill intentions against the king or the state, and threw himself on the mercy of the parliament. He was, therefore, fined in two thousand pounds a year of land, with the forfeiture of all his goods, and the loss of all his offices. On the 6th of February following, he came out of the Tower : about ten days afterwards, he received the king's pardon ; and on the 6th of April, he obtained a place in the council.

In the mean while, the parliament and the council, with the earl of Warwick at its head, proceeded to establish the reformation. The parliament passed an act confirming the new liturgy, and ordering all missals, breviaries, &c. to be delivered to persons appointed to receive them, and all images, not yet removed from the churches, to be destroyed before the end of the month of June. The earl of Warwick, and

A. D. 1550.

the council, were not a little embarrassed concerning the affair of Boulogne, and the war with France. Although they had indignantly rejected the late protector's proposal for the restitution of Boulogne, they, themselves, adopted that measure; and a treaty of peace was concluded, by which England restored that place to France on condition of being repaid the sums laid out in improving the fortifications.* But no mention was made of the pension granted to Henry VIII. by Francis I. nor of the arrears due from France, which, since the reign of Charles VIII. had been constantly accumulating. Thus, all the pains that the kings of England had taken to secure a yearly pension, or tribute, in lieu of their pretensions to the crown of France, were rendered fruitless by this treaty, which stipulated, in favour of England, only an indeterminate retention of those claims which had caused so much blood to be shed since the days of Edward III. The kings of England still retained the title of king of France; but since the days of Henry VIII. none of them have ever seriously thought of asserting their right to that crown. Scotland was also included in this treaty; and the project of a

* The sum was 400,000 crowns of gold; this treaty was concluded March 24th, 1550. Rapin, 2. p. 20.

marriage between the queen of that country, and the king of England, was relinquished.

The earl of Warwick, who had the chief direction of affairs, soon perceived that the nation was extremely offended at a treaty so disgraceful to England. In order, therefore, to give the people some satisfaction, as well as to pay the king's debts, which were very considerable, he called to a rigorous account, those who had the management of the public money, as well as those who had been guilty of misdemeanours in the exercise of their offices. Peculation is so common a crime in most countries, that such inquisitions, if rigorously made, too often develope iniquitous scenes, however concealed under the ostensible shew of patriotism and disinterested integrity. At the period here under consideration, several persons of distinction were found guilty of embezzling the public money: some were heavily fined: others were imprisoned, and others made the best compositions they could with the court. This inquiry greatly contributed to augment the power of the earl of Warwick; for as there were few persons in public offices whose conduct would stand the test of a rigorous inquiry, they endeavoured to disarm his vengeance by an implicit submission to his will.

The nation being now at peace with its neighbours, the reformation was the principal affair that attracted the attention of the king and the regency. Several bishopricks, as they became vacant, were despoiled of the greatest part of their manors, which were divided among the great men of the court, and some compensations were made to the sees, by means of impropriations, &c.*

A. D. 1551. Commissioners were also employed in preparing a confession of faith, consisting of forty-two articles. Some parts of the new liturgy were corrected: the commandments were prefixed to the communion service, chrism, the use of the cross in the consecration of the eucharist, and prayers for the dead, were laid aside.† The princess Mary refused to adopt these alterations, and continued to have mass celebrated in her house, which drew upon her great mortifications from the king and his council, and, in all probability first gave rise to the ambitious projects of the earl of Warwick, who afterwards formed the design of excluding her from the succession, of marrying the princess

* This procedure was grounded on the example of Henry VIII. *Strype's Mem.* 2. p. 75, 272. *Heylin*, p. 17, &c. *Stat.* 37th, Henry VIII.

† *Barnet*, 2. p. 169, &c.

Elizabeth abroad, and of causing one of his own sons to espouse Jane Grey, eldest daughter of the marquis of Dorset, by Francis Brandon, who was the next in succession after the two daughters of Henry VIII.

In the month of April, this year, the sweating sickness broke out, and continued to rage till October with a violence that defied all remedies. The duke of Suffolk, and his brother, who had succeeded him, died of this distemper, and the title being void by their death, was procured, by the earl of Warwick, for the marquis of Dorset, the father of lady Jane Grey. Some historians suppose, that the earl had already formed the design of placing the crown on the head of that lady; but this appears scarcely probable, as the king was only in his fifteenth year, and in a good state of health. The earl also negotiated a treaty of marriage between Edward and the princess Elizabeth, daughter of Henry II. of France—a measure which seemed to be in direct opposition to his imputed designs. But the consummation being not to take place till after the princess was twelve years of age, it was consequently prevented by the king's death. It is, therefore, probable, that the designs of the earl of Warwick, at that time, were confined to the

view of establishing himself firmly in the post that he possessed, in order to retain his authority after the king should be at age to assume the reins of government.

But whatever might be his views, he endeavoured to advance his friends to the highest honours. By his influence, he caused the marquis of Dorset to be created duke of Suffolk, and himself, duke of Northumberland: William Paulet, lord treasurer, was made marquis of Winchester; and Sir Wm. Herbert, earl of Pembroke. But the promotion of his friends could not make him perfectly easy, without the ruin of those whom he considered as enemies. He regarded the duke of Somerset, notwithstanding his disgrace, as a powerful rival. The king, indeed, had a great esteem for his uncle; and as his minority was drawing near its termination, he might probably restore him to his former influence. This was what the late earl of Warwick, now duke of Northumberland, chiefly feared, and resolved to prevent. In order to ruin the duke of Somerset, he made use of two different means, which succeeded according to his wish: the first was to prejudice the king against him by malicious reports and misrepresentations of his conduct: the second was to give the duke

himself such mortifications as would impel him to some criminal action. Few persons would have the moderation and prudence to avoid falling into such a snare. Historians have said that he had formed the project of assassinating the duke of Northumberland; but all their assertions are founded on uncertain and partial accounts, or on vague conjecture, and the whole affair, like most of the court intrigues of those corrupt times, appears involved in obscurity. The duke, however, October 17, A. D. 1551. was committed to the Tower, with many others, accused of being his accomplices. But he was never confronted with his accusers, and all the depositions being privately taken, posterity is deprived of the means of estimating the accuracy of their statements. The best light that can be thrown on the affair, arises from the charge brought against him at his trial. It consisted of three articles—1st. That he had designed to seize the king's person, and the administration of public affairs. 2d. That he had formed a conspiracy for the purpose of seizing and imprisoning the duke of Northumberland. And 3d. That he had intended to raise an insurrection in London. Of these three articles the first and third were treason: the second was felony; and of this

he was found guilty, and received sentence of death.

As the peers had condemned the duke of felony, and unanimously acquitted him of the charge of high treason, the people still hoped that the king would grant him his pardon. But young Edward was constantly surrounded with persons who used every endeavour to prejudice him against his uncle; and, at last, Jan. 22d, A. D. 1552. he signed an order for his execution. In a speech from the scaffold, the duke declared, that he had diligently laboured for the prosperity and glory of the king, and for the good of the realm: he gave thanks to God for making him his instrument to promote the reformation, and exhorted the people to adhere to its doctrines: he prayed for the king, asked pardon of all whom he had offended, and declared, that he forgave all his enemies. After this harangue, he spent a few moments in prayer, and then placing his head on the block, received the stroke that launched him into eternity.

Thus fell the celebrated duke of Somerset, whose character has been variously depicted by historians. Some have represented him as the murderer of his brother, and as a sacrilegious despoiler and destroyer of churches; while others seem to regard his zeal for the

reformation as sufficient to counterbalance all his vices and failings. But without being led astray by the misrepresentations of either catholic or protestant bigots, we cannot but conclude, that he was more weak than wicked. His ambition was boundless ; but he did not possess the courage and decision of character requisite for the accomplishment of great designs.

Soon after the duke's execution, Sir Miles Partridge, Sir Ralph Vane, Sir Michael Stanhope, and Sir Thomas Arundel, who were charged with being his accomplices, were put to death on Tower-Hill. All of them asserted their innocence ; and Sir Ralph Vane, in particular, declared that he did not doubt but his blood would make the duke of Northumberland's pillow uneasy. About this time, the horrid custom of convicting, on the authority of private depositions, was abolished by an act of parliament, which declared that no person should be condemned for treason, except by his own confession, or by the depositions of two witnesses taken in his presence. This year, also, the

A. D. 1552.

famous corporation of German and Flemish merchants, who lived in the Still-yard, near London Bridge, was dissolved, because it had become detrimental to Eng-

land by engrossing the wool trade. The kings of England had frequently borrowed money of the free towns of Germany, and, in recompense, had granted them great privileges. Antwerp and Hamburgh possessed, at this period, the chief part of the trade in these parts of Europe. In the year 1551, the merchants of the Still-yard had shipped no less than forty-four thousand pieces of cloth ; and all the English merchants, collectively, had not exported above eleven hundred. While the trade was thus monopolized by foreigners, it was impossible that England should rise to commercial eminence.* The dissolution of this company, which had all the markets in their hands, was, therefore, greatly conducive to the commercial interests of the kingdom.

A. D. 1553. In the beginning of the year, the young king fell into a consumptive disorder, which growing daily more dangerous, announced his approaching dissolution. Some suspected that the duke of Northumberland had given him a slow poison ; but this was only conjecture, without the least appearance of proof ; and the nature of his disease seems to contradict the opinion. About the middle of May the physicians

* Burnet, 2. p. 207.

gave up all hopes of his recovery: Edward, perceiving the approach of death, could not reflect, without extreme concern, on the future state of religion under his sister Mary, who was to be his successor, and who would not fail to suppress the reformation, which he had laboured, with so much zeal, to establish. On these circumstances, the duke of Northumberland formed his plan for bringing the crown into his family. In this view, he married the lord Guilford Dudley, his fourth son, to Jane Grey, eldest daughter of the duke of Suffolk, by Frances Brandon, who was, by the will of Henry VIII. appointed the next in succession after the princesses Mary and Elizabeth. At the same time, the two sisters of Jane Grey were married; one to the eldest son of the earl of Pembroke: the other to Martin Keys, groom-porter to the king.

The duke having strengthened himself by such alliances as he deemed useful for the accomplishment of his design, represented, to the dying king, the danger in which the reformation must be if Mary ascended the throne, and advised him to exclude her from the succession. But as Mary could not be set aside, except on the specious pretext of her illegitimacy, and as the same pretended blemish attached to Elizabeth, who was a

known friend to the reformation, he had so great an influence over the king as to induce him to exclude both his sisters, and to settle the succession on Jane Grey. The settlement of the crown was then drawn up and signed by all the judges except judge Hales, and by all the privy counsellors. And the duke of Northumberland, having so far carried his point, sent for Mary and Elizabeth to accompany the king in his sickness. His design was to get them into his hands, in order to prevent them from opposing the accession of his daughter-in-law. But while the two princesses were on the road Edward expired in the sixteenth year of his age, and the seventh of his reign; and they, by turning back, disappointed the duke in regard to his plan for securing their persons.*

Edward VI. had a beautiful countenance, with a remarkable sweetness in his aspect, and his eyes sparkled with a starry lustre and peculiar vivacity, indicating the mildness of his disposition, the acuteness of his penetration, and the extent of his genius. If, indeed, we may credit historians, he must be considered as a prodigy; and nature seems

to have made an extraordinary effort in forming the qualities of his mind. Before his sickness, when he was only in his fifteenth year, he not only spoke English, French, and Latin, with the greatest fluency, ease, and elegance, but had acquired a knowledge of the Greek, Italian, and Spanish languages, as also of logic and music. He understood the arts of fortification and design, and was also an adept in philosophy. He was so conversant in politics, that the foreign ambassadors who visited London during his reign, published the fame of his abilities in all the courts of Europe. And Cardan, the famous Italian philosopher, who conversed with him about a year before his death, was struck with admiration and astonishment by the solidity of his judgment, the extent of his understanding, and the multiplicity of his attainments. In writing his character at a time when flattery could not be of any use, Cardan speaks of him as a miracle, and says that "in him nature had made such an attempt, that not only England, but the world had reason to lament that he was so soon snatched away." Astonishment might perhaps lead to exaggeration; but how extraordinary soever might be the boy, his life was too short to develope the character of the

man and the monarch; and his political measures were not to be ascribed to himself, but rather to his ministers. His zeal for the reformation appears to have been sincere and ardent; but all that was done for its establishment in his reign was soon undone in that of his successor,



MARY.



THE crown of England, assigned to Jane Grey by the testament of Edward VI. proved a fatal bequest. The pretensions of that unhappy lady sunk before the prior claim and superior fortune of Mary, eldest sister of the late king, and her life was sacrificed to the ambition of her father-in-law. Mary, however, did not ascend the throne without some opposition. The two divorces of Henry VIII. and his arbitrary disposal of the crown by his last will, together with the various and contradictory acts of parliament passed on these occasions had greatly embroiled the succession: and the last will of Edward VI. had only served to increase the confusion, By these proceedings a wide field was left

open to competition ; and the fortune of the claimants could alone determine their success.

As soon as the eyes of Edward were closed, the first care of the duke of Northumberland was to prepare for placing his daughter-in-law on the throne. On receiving this intelligence, Jane declared that she was not ambitious of royalty, that the crown belonged to Mary, and that she would not usurp her rights. At length being overcome by the arguments and importunities of the duke, her father-in-law, and of Lord Guildford Dudley, her husband, she acceded to the proposal. The duke had no sooner obtained her consent, than he assembled the council in the Tower ; and as he was master of its decisions, it was unanimously resolved, that Jane should be proclaimed queen on the following day.

July 10th,
A. D. 1553.

She was accordingly proclaimed in London, with the usual formalities, but without any of the popular acclamations customary on such occasions. The duke of Northumberland was hated by the people, and their enmity fatally affected his daughter-in-law, as they reasonably imagined, that, under her government, the administration would be almost wholly lodged in his hands.

At this critical period, it is requisite to take a view of the state of the English nation,

in regard to religion and politics. The council of state consisted of twenty-one members, of whom few loved, though all of them feared the duke of Northumberland. Some of them, particularly the earl of Arundel, adhered to the ancient religion, although they outwardly complied with the changes which had been introduced. The archbishop of Canterbury, and some others, were sincere protestants; but the majority, like the duke of Northumberland, had no attachment to any religion, and were ready to comply with any that seemed conducive to their temporal interest. The rest of the nobility resembled the lords of the council. Few of them had any sincere attachment to either the catholic or protestant religion; but all of them concurred in their enmity to the duke of Northumberland. The people were also divided into three classes or parties. England, at this time, appeared to be almost wholly protestant; but many of the people were secretly attached to the old religion. Some, indeed, were zealous for the reformation; but the greatest number had embraced its doctrines with a view to temporal advantages; and it is evident, from subsequent, as well as from preceding circumstances, that the religious sentiment was very weak among the English of that period.

In the contest between Mary and Jane, it was evident, that the former would be supported by all who desired the restoration of the ancient religion. Jane, who was a strenuous advocate for the reformation, could expect support only from those who were zealous for the protestant faith, and ready to sacrifice their all for its sake. But the number of these was small. The great majority of the nation being swayed by no principle of religion or conscience, would naturally embrace the party that appeared the strongest, and the religion that promised to be triumphant. But all ranks of people, whatever might be their sentiments in regard to religion, agreed in their dislike of the duke of Northumberland, and their dread of falling under his government. From these considerations, it is easy to account for the little support that Jane met with from those whom she now called her subjects. On receiving intelligence of Edward's decease, Mary retired into Suffolk; and on promising to make no alterations in religion, the people of that county, who were almost all of them protestants, immediately espoused her cause, and those of Norfolk followed their example. Being proclaimed queen at Norwich, several lords and gentlemen came to offer her their services,

and some of them immediately began to raise troops for the support of her right: the people of Suffolk took arms in her favour: she was proclaimed in several places; and she soon had an army that daily increased.

The sovereigns of England had long been accustomed to retire to the Tower at the commencement of their reigns, a precautionary measure adopted for the purpose of safety in tumultuous and insurrectional times. The duke of Northumberland had taken care not to omit a custom so conformable to his views. He knew that by having the counsellors in the Tower, he could guard them as prisoners, and be able to direct their resolutions. They accordingly acceded to every proposal that he made, justly apprehending that any false step might cost them their lives before the dispute between the two rival queens could be decided.

In this situation they found it necessary to raise forces, in order to oppose those which Mary had assembled; and the duke of Suffolk was appointed commander of the army, as the duke of Northumberland was unwilling to leave London lest his absence should be prejudicial to the cause. But the earl of Arundel, who was secretly attached to the interests of Mary, seeing the presence of the duke

an insuperable obstacle to the execution of his designs, found means to break these measures. He intimated to Jane, that her father would be exposed to great danger by taking the field, and that as no one could be more interested in supporting her right, it was proper that he should remain near her person. He also insinuated to the duke of Northumberland, that as he had, on various occasions, given proofs of his conduct and valour, he was the fittest person to take the command of the army, as every thing depended on his success, and that his name would be sufficient to strike terror into the troops which Mary had collected.

The affection of Jane for her father induced her to favour the earl of Arundel's plan; and the duke of Northumberland, himself, was sensible that he was the most proper person to command the army that was to be sent against Mary. His only apprehension was that the council, of whose fidelity he was not well assured, might abandon the cause of Jane in his absence, especially as he deemed the abilities of the duke of Suffolk unequal to the conduct of any intricate affair. After much hesitation, he put himself at the head of the troops that were then assembled at Newmarket. But in proceeding

from that place to Cambridge, he had the mortification to see his army daily diminished by desertion. He also received the disastrous intelligence that Sir Edward Hastings, brother to the earl of Huntingdon, who was to have joined him with four thousand men, had declared for Mary; and that the fleet, on the coast of Suffolk, had followed the example. These unfavourable circumstances obliged him to remain at Cambridge, and to write to the council, at London, for speedy supplies.

The counsellors, in the mean while, receiving daily intelligence of the prosperous state of Mary's affairs, resolved to provide for their own safety by changing sides before it was too late. The earl of Arundel was the chief promoter of this measure; and the earl of Pembroke, who had been the most zealous for Jane, because his son had married her sister, resolved to avoid the impending danger by rendering some signal service to Mary. The rest of the counsellors soon adopted the same measure, and resolved to declare for Mary as soon as possible. The greatest difficulty was to get out of the Tower, without exciting the suspicion of the duke of Suffolk; but the duke of Northumberland's letter furnished them with a pretext and an

opportunity. They represented to the duke of Suffolk that the readiest method of procuring the necessary supplies was an application to the lord mayor of London, and proposed that some place in the city should be appointed for holding a consultation on the subject, intimating, at the same time, that the house of the earl of Pembroke was the most convenient place for that purpose. The duke of Suffolk, who did not suspect the fidelity of the earl of Pembroke, acceded to the proposal. As soon as the lords of the council were met, the earl of Arundel, in an animated speech, exhorted them to shake off the tyranny of the duke of Northumberland by immediately proclaiming queen Mary. The proposal was received with unanimous approbation, and having sent for the mayor and aldermen, they proclaimed queen Mary in different parts of the city, after which they repaired to St. Paul's, where "*Te Deum*" was solemnly sung. On their return from St. Paul's, they sent an order to the duke of Suffolk to deliver up the Tower, and to Jane, requiring her to resign the crown. The duke immediately obeyed, as he saw no possibility of holding the Tower; and after a reign of only nine days, the unfortunate Jane saw herself stripped of her royal dignity.

The duke of Northumberland being informed of the revolution which had taken place at London, and seeing it impossible to keep his army together, proclaimed queen Mary at Cambridge with every demonstration of zeal for her service. But Mary was not to be deceived by this feigned expression of loyalty. On the following day the duke was arrested by the earl of Arundel, and sent to

July 25th,
A. D. 1553.

the Tower, with three of his sons and several of his principal adherents. On this occasion a woman, seeing the duke of Northumberland conveyed to the Tower, shook at him a handkerchief dipped in the duke of Somerset's blood, which she reproached him with having caused to be unjustly shed.*

Mary now met with no further opposition. She came to London with her sister Elizabeth, who had met her on the way with two thousand horse which she had raised for her service. As soon as she entered the Tower she liberated the duke of Norfolk, Gardiner, Bonner, the duchess of Somerset, and lord Courtney, eldest son of the Marquis of Exeter, whom she soon after created earl of Devonshire. On the other hand the unfor-

* See an account of these transactions in Burnet, vol. 2.

tunate Jane Grey, her father, the duke of Suffolk, her husband and his brother, Robert Dudley, both of them sons of the duke of Northumberland, Ridley, bishop of London, Cheek, who had been Edward's preceptor, and two of the judges, Cholmley and Montague, were committed to the Tower. The duke of Suffolk, however, was released three days afterwards, the queen having selected him as an object of clemency, since his abilities did not seem capable of giving her any disturbance.

The duke of Northumberland being brought to his trial, propounded Aug. 18th,
A. D. 1553. to his peers two intricate questions: the first was, whether a person in acting by an order of the council, and under the authority of the great seal, could be deemed guilty of treason: the second, whether persons who had acted with him in the same affair and were equally guilty could sit as his judges. This alluded to the Marquis of Winchester and the earls of Arundel and Pembroke, who were members of the council when Jane was proclaimed queen, and had given orders for her proclamation. These questions greatly perplexed the lords; but after some consultation it was answered, that the great seal of an usurper could neither authorize or indem-

nify those who acted under such a warrant, a doctrine which had derived some authority from a variety of precedents during the civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, but which, if carried to its full extent, might cause oceans of blood to be shed after every revolution. To the second point it was answered, that as none of the peers, who sat in judgment upon him, had been impeached, they could not be legally deprived of their right. This maxim also seems to be capable of giving rise, in some cases, to great inconveniences. These points being thus determined the duke confessed himself guilty, and threw himself on the queen's mercy, which he might perhaps have experienced had not the Emperor Charles V. who apprehended that he would oppose the projected marriage of Mary with his son Philip, employed all his influence to have him put out of the way.* Being condemned to death, he declared on the scaffold, that, in his heart, he had always been a catholic. It is a matter of doubt whether he made this declaration in the hope of a pardon, or according to the dictates of his conscience. But it is certain that he made the establishment of the reformation the pre-

pretext for excluding Mary from the throne, and had Jane continued to reign, he would undoubtedly have continued a protestant, as it appears, from the whole of his conduct, that he had never any regard for religion, otherwise than as it might promote his temporal interests. His recantation, however, was of no avail. As he himself had formerly determined the death of the duke of Somerset, and several others, so was his death now determined. With him suffered

August 22d, Sir John Gates and Sir Thomas
A. D. 1553. Palmer, who had been the be-

trayer of the duke of Somerset. In these transactions we cannot but perceive a just and providential retribution. The duke of Somerset had procured the death of his own brother the admiral; and he himself, within less than two years, was brought to the scaffold by the duke of Northumberland, who, before three years were expired, experienced the very same fate.*

From the moment that Mary ascended the throne, the restoration of the ancient religion appeared to be her grand object. Various proclamations were issued, all of which tended

* The admiral was executed March 20, 1549; the duke of Somerset, January 22, 1551; and the duke of Northumberland, August 22, 1553.

to that point, although the queen declared that no force should be exercised upon conscience. Her partiality to the catholics, however, soon became visible: five of their bishops, namely Bonner, Gardiner, Day, Tonsal, and Heath, who had been deprived in the late reign were restored, and five protestant bishops were ejected. Hooper, Latimer, and Ferrar, were committed to prison. The archbishops of Canterbury and York were sent to the Tower, the former on a charge of treason, the latter on a general accusation of several capital crimes. All these proceedings took place before the parliament met, and consequently before any of the laws of the preceding reign had been repealed.*

The queen and her ministers having resolved to abrogate all the laws made in favour of the reformation, and to re-establish the ancient religion, it was necessary to have the concurrence of parliament. If elections had been left free, the court would have found it difficult; if not impossible, to effect its purpose, as those who professed the protestant religion greatly outnumbered the catholics. Every artifice, therefore, was used to have a parliament at the devotion of the

* Queen Mary was crowned October 1, 1553.

court. For this purpose care was taken to change the magistrates in the counties and boroughs, and to suffer none to retain their offices, except such as were catholics or had promised to conform to that religion. Every thing that tended to the election of catholic representatives was countenanced, while those who shewed an inclination to chuse protestants were intimidated by menaces, and even imprisoned on frivolous pretexts. In some places protestants were not allowed to attend the elections; and, in others, false returns were made by the sheriffs, and afterwards confirmed by the majority of the house of commons, which being thus composed of catholics, or of men wholly indifferent to religion, was entirely devoted to the court. In this parliament the divorce of Catharine, the mother of Mary, was repealed by an act which passed through both houses in fewer days than Henry had spent years in the prosecution of that affair; and all the laws of king Edward, concerning religion, being abrogated, the church was placed on the same footing as at the death of Henry VIII. It has already been observed that every art had been practised, in order to form a house of commons at the devotion of the court. But the same remark cannot apply to the peers. The

measures of the queen and her ministers, however, met with as little opposition from the lords as the commons, from which it appears, that with a few exceptions, the nobility as well as the plebeians were wholly indifferent in regard to systems of religion, which they considered as not of sufficient importance to be placed in competition with temporal advantages. The convocation, which sat at the same time with the parliament, was not less compliant. The same care, indeed, had been taken to pack the clergy as the commons; for a short time before the session, several changes had been made among the bishops, and above a hundred and fifty presentations to livings had so strengthened the influence of the court among the inferior clergy, that no more than six members were found to oppose the doctrine of transubstantiation; and

December 21,
A. D. 1553. before the end of the year, mass began again to be sung in Latin throughout England, in the manner as before the late alterations in religion. Thus, before Mary had been five months on the throne, the parliament and the convocation overturned the reformation established in the preceding reign.

While the parliament was sitting, Jane, with her husband, the lord Guilford Dudley, his two brothers Sir Ambrose and Sir Henry

Dudley, and Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, were brought to trial, and being found guilty of treason, received sentence of death, which, however, was not immediately executed. The queen, in the mean while, not contented with restoring the catholic religion to the state in which it was left at the death of Henry VIII. resolved on re-uniting England to the Roman communion. For this purpose she entered into a negotiation with the Pope, who agreed to send cardinal Pole to England in quality of legate. The emperor Charles V. was at the same time projecting a marriage between Mary and his son Philip, hoping by the issue of that alliance to annex England to the vast dominions of the house of Austria. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who was now chancellor, and had the chief direction of affairs, approved and even perhaps had suggested the measure. At least it is certain that he left no means unemployed to promote its accomplishment. The proposal was highly agreeable to Mary, as an alliance with the emperor might strike terror into any that should have an inclination to oppose her designs. Gardiner, also, besides consulting the interests of the catholic religion, saw a considerable advantage to himself in promoting the match, as it promised to secure his own

power and credit by the influence of Philip, who would be indebted to him for so splendid an alliance. The commons who had so readily concurred with the court in every thing concerning religion, shewed less compliance in this affair, and sent the speaker, with twenty of their members, to pray the queen not to marry a foreign prince. But Mary perceiving their intentions to cross her designs, immediately dissolved the parliament. In the be-

beginning of the year a magnificent
A. D. 1554. embassy arrived at London from the emperor, with the count of Egmont at its head, to conclude the treaty of marriage. The articles were soon settled by the English minister and the imperial ambassador. As an able politician, Gardiner acquired and indeed merited great reputation from this treaty, of whrch the conditions appeared highly advantageous to England.*

But although every care had been taken to secure the independence of the kingdom, by the exclusion of foreigners from all offices,

* Besides a variety of articles of inferior consequence, the first born of Philip and Mary was to inherit the Netherlands and Burgundy, together with England. The archduke Charles, the son of Philip, was to possess Spain, Sicily, and the Austrian dominions in Italy; and, in case of the death of that prince, the eldest son or daughter of Philip and Mary was to inherit the whole of the dominions of the house of Austria, together with England.

and its tranquillity, by providing that it should have no concern in the wars that so frequently took place between Spain and France; the treaty was no sooner made public than it excited a discontent almost universal.* Both protestants and catholics entertained apprehensions that the Spanish tyranny would be introduced into England, and supposed that the emperor, in agreeing to such favourable conditions, had never intended to be bound by the treaty. The general murmur produced a conspiracy, of which the queen's marriage was either the cause or the pretence, and in which religion at least could have no concern, as Sir Thos. Wyatt, the principal conspirator, was a Roman catholic. This man having formed the project of exciting a general insurrection, the duke of Suffolk, and Sir Peter Carew, engaged in the plot. Wyatt was to act in Kent, the duke in Warwickshire, and Carew in Cornwall. But the temerity of Wyatt, and the mismanagement of his accomplices, proved fatal to their enterprises. Carew had so ill concerted his measures, that before he could make any progress, his designs were

* Philip was not to retain even any domestic in England that was not an Englishman, or at least one of the queen's subjects. Rapis, 2. p. 36.

discovered, and he was obliged to escape into France. Wyat having failed in his attempt to raise the people of Kent, marched to Southwark, expecting to enter London without opposition. But finding the bridge strongly barricaded and guarded, he proceeded along the side of the Thames to Kingston, where he crossed the river. After this he marched directly towards London, with an army consisting of about six thousand men,

A. D. 1554.

and reached Hyde Park on the 7th of February, about nine in the morning. Flattering himself with the groundless expectation of being joined by the citizens, he entered Westminster, and pursued his march through the Strand towards Ludgate. As he advanced, care was taken to cut off his retreat by barricades, and troops were placed at all the avenues. On finding the city gate shut against him, he first discovered his danger; and perceiving the impossibility of a retreat, he surrendered himself to Sir Maurice Berkeley, and was sent to the Tower; and the different prisons of London were soon filled with his followers. The duke of Suffolk, in the mean while, had made so little progress in levying troops, that his concern in the conspiracy was discovered only by seizing an express, sent by Wyat to urge

him to hasten his preparations. On this the earl of Huntingdon was sent to arrest him ; and the duke being basely betrayed into his hands by one of his own domestics, was sent to the Tower. Such was the result of this ill managed conspiracy, which, had it been more ably conducted, might have greatly embarrassed the queen and her council, who were quite unprepared for an attack. But as all unsuccessful revolts strengthen the power which they are designed to overturn, the disastrous termination of this enterprise so increased the authority of the queen, that she met with no farther opposition.

The court easily understood that the design of the duke of Suffolk had been to replace his daughter on the throne ; and the queen, whatever might before have been her intentions, saw herself constrained to sacrifice that unfortunate lady to her own safety. A notice was sent to Jane Grey, and her husband, lord Guilford Dudley, to prepare for death. Jane, who had long expected this message, received it with the greatest composure. Guilford Dudley suffered first ; and as Jane was conducted to execution, she met on the way the officers bearing the headless body of her husband streaming with blood, in order to be interred in the chapel of the

Tower.* She beheld the corpse without trembling, and only with a sigh desired to proceed. In every scene, both of exaltation and adversity, she had shewn great constancy, piety, and resignation, and acknowledged herself highly culpable in accepting a crown that was not her right. Her behaviour in her last moments, corresponded with the uniform tenor of her life: she declared her immovable adherence to the reformation, and met her fate with heroic resolution. Thus fell,

Feb. 12th, at the age of sixteen, this accom-
A. D. 1554. plished lady, whom all historians represent as a miracle of genius and learning. At that tender age, she perfectly understood French, Latin, and Greek, and was well acquainted with the writings of the ancient philosophers, as well as with various sciences. Her accomplishments and virtues rendered her worthy of a better fate; but the ambition of her relatives precipitated her into destruction.

A few days after Jane was executed, her father, the duke of Suffolk, was brought to the scaffold, where his last moments were embittered by the reflection, that the death of his daughter was owing to his fatal am-

* Rapin, 2. p. 37.

bition. Sir Thomas Wyatt was next tried and condemned ; but on his offer to make some important discoveries, he obtained a respite. He is said to have accused the earl of Devonshire, and the princess Elizabeth, of being concerned in his conspiracy, and on this charge they were both committed to the Tower. Wyatt, however, who had expected a pardon, finding his hopes disappointed, fully exculpated them in a subsequent examination. He was soon after executed, as, also, were fifty-nine of his principal followers, and six hundred, with halters about their necks, implored and received the queen's pardon.

Tranquillity being now restored to the state, the queen and her ministers directed their attention to the accomplishment of their designs. A new parliament was called as compliant to the court as the former ; and the queen's marriage received the approbation of both houses, but with some additional provisos for preventing Philip from seizing the government.* This precaution was privately suggested by Gardiner, who appre-

* It was apprehended, that after his marriage with the queen, Philip might follow the example of Henry VII. and claim the crown in his own right, since he, as well as Henry, was descended from John of Gaunt, the fourth son of Edward III.

hended, that if the government should fall into the hands of Philip, the administration of affairs would be committed to Spaniards. In this instance, therefore, the minister consulted his own interest as well as that of the nation.

As nothing now retarded the consummation of the marriage, Philip embarked at Corunna, and after a voyage of three days arrived at Southampton. The queen met him at Winchester, where they were married by Gardiner; and on the same day, Philip and Mary were proclaimed king and queen of England, France, Ireland, Naples, and Jerusalem, with the addition of many other titles belonging to the house of Austria.* Many chests of bullion were brought over by Philip, which being judiciously distributed, greatly strengthened the influence of the court.† A few days after the marriage, the king and queen made their entry into London; and Philip, in order to ingratiate himself with the English, interceded with Mary in behalf of the princess Elizabeth and several other persons of distinction, who, through

* Rymer's *Fœd.* tom. 15. p. 404. Rapin, vol. 2. p. 39.

† The emperor lent Philip 1,200,000 crowns—a sum equivalent to £400,000. sterling. Bunsen, 2. p. 262.

his mediation, were liberated from confinement.

Soon after the marriage of Philip and Mary, the new parliament met, and
Nov. 11, A. D. 1555. "such," says a judicious historian, "had been the effects of the gold sent from Spain, that most of the representatives only wanted occasions to signalize their zeal for the queen."* Such, indeed, was the change produced by a new reign, that several of the nobility who had, in the time of Edward VI. been strenuous promoters of the reformation, were now active instruments in restoring the catholic religion and the papal authority. The attainder of cardinal Pole was reversed by the parliament; and that prelate, in quality of the Pope's legate, soon after arrived in England. The cardinal had only been five days in London before the parliament presented to the king and queen a petition, praying them to intercede with the legate for a reconciliation of the kingdom with the holy see, from which it had long been separated by a "horrible schism;" and promising at the same time to repeal all the acts against the papal authority. On this the legate came to the parliament, and granted a full absolution, which both houses received on their

* Rapin, 2. p. 40.

knees. It was also stipulated that the late alienations of the church lands should be confirmed, and that the possessors should not be liable to any prosecutions or ecclesiastical censures on that account.

But the parliament did not think that its devotion to the court was sufficiently shewn by barely restoring the catholic religion, and reuniting the kingdom to the Roman see. An act was therefore passed, reviving the statutes of Richard II. Henry IV. and Henry V. against heretics. The protestants saw, with consternation, the storm that was ready to burst on their heads, and which they had no means of avoiding. Their number was far greater than that of their adversaries; but the latter had the government in their hands; but neither the sincere catholics nor the real protestants were so numerous as those who were indifferent to all religions. Persons of that description made no scruple to attach themselves to the religion which they saw supported by the queen and her ministers, and even appeared the most zealous in persecuting the protestants, as that was the way to favour and promotion. The parliament, therefore, seemed to surpass the court itself in its zeal for the extirpation of heresy.*

* Rapin, 2. p. 41.

The sanguinary laws against heretics being revived by the parliament, a council was held at court, in order to discuss the propriety of carrying them into execution. Cardinal Pole was for employing only gentle means for bringing the protestants back to the church of Rome, and reprobated the idea of converting by fire and sword, as wholly repugnant to the spirit of christianity. But neither the queen nor her ministers approved of such moderate maxims. On the contrary, Gardiner maintained that nothing but force could produce the desired effect. The queen, who was a flaming bigot, adopted his opinion. The extirpation of heresy was committed to Gardiner; and from that time the cardinal was no more consulted on matters of religion.

A furious persecution of the protestants was immediately commenced. Hooper, formerly bishop of Gloucester, and Rogers, prebendary of St. Paul's, were the first victims: the former was burned at Gloucester, the latter at London. These executions were followed by those of Sanders and Taylor, two eminent clergymen.* Gardiner finding that these cruelties did not produce the effect which he had expected, transferred his commission to Bonner, bishop of London, who

* Fox, p. 131, &c.

distinguished himself by carrying on the persecution with a barbarity unbecoming a clergyman and a christian, and which would even have disgraced a savage. Yet Bonner himself was considered by the court as too lenient, and received a reprimand from the queen, who accused him of remissness, and required him to exert more activity in reclaiming or extirpating the heretics.* At this period the protestants were in a deplorable condition: the court was more intent on persecuting than the bishops themselves; and the parliament endeavoured to demonstrate its zeal, by surpassing the court in its ardour for the extirpation of heresy.

While the queen, seconded by her ministers and parliament, was thus displaying her zeal for the Roman church, the possession of the abbey lands seized by Henry VIII. gave rise to a scruple of which she was resolved to exonerate her conscience. In consequence of this determination, she gave to the legate an inventory of the church lands vested in the crown, and resigned them to the Pope's disposal.

The alienation of the property of the church had created the greatest, and, indeed, almost the only difficulty that attended the reconciliation of the kingdom with the see of

* Burnet, tom. 2. coll. 283.

Rome. The nobility and gentry, whatever zeal they might display for the catholic religion, and whatever regard they might have, or pretend to have, for the papal authority, never intended to give up the estates which had been wrested from the church. The legate had confirmed these alienations; but this part of the business was so explained by the court of Rome, as to render the possession of those lands insecure, and dependent on the will of the Pope.* An act, however, was afterwards passed, declaring, that whoever should disturb any person in the possession of lands or goods once belonging to the church, on pretence of any ecclesiastical authority, should incur the penalties of the statute of *premunire*. Thus it appears that the good catholics of queen Mary's days, had, at least, as much regard for their temporal interests, as zeal for their religion.

A. D. 1555. At this period, Paul IV. was elected to the pontificate, and never, perhaps, was the chair of St. Peter filled by a Pope more haughty and imperious.† Though eighty years of age, he

* Rapin, 2. p. 40 and 41.—Burnet, 3. coll. 216, &c.

† Julius III. died March 23d, and was succeeded by Marcellus II. who meditated a great reform in the church; but his death, which happened the twenty-second day after his election, put an end to his project. Paul III. was elected on the 23d of May, 1555.

began to form vast projects, and resolved to carry his authority to the farthest extent that was possible. He informed the English ambassadors that he should require not only a full restitution of the church lands, but also the payment of Peter pence, adding this sagacious remark, that St. Peter could not be expected to open the gates of heaven to those who usurped his patrimony on earth. The queen, who had already resigned her part of the ecclesiastical property, endeavoured to promote the intentions of the Pope. But on this subject she found the parliament not so compliant as in the affair of extirpating heresy; and she was obliged to abandon a design which appeared to be opposed by insurmountable obstacles.

The nobility and gentry, although they refused to deliver up one foot of the lands which had once belonged to the church, were willing to demonstrate their zeal by their rigorous persecution of protestants. The queen and her ministers exhorted the bishops to condemn without mercy, and the magistrates executed the sentences with a barbarity not required by the laws. Among those who were burned for their religion, were Ridley, bishop of London, and the venerable old Latimer, with several other dis-

tinguished ecclesiastics. But while the court, the bishops, and the parliament, concurred in the destruction of those who refused to enter the pale of the church, the queen, herself, met with a great mortification: Philip, whose view in his marriage was to have children, and thus to unite England with the monarchy of Spain, seeing no hope of posterity by the queen, grew weary of a wife who had neither youth nor beauty; and resolving to apply himself more closely to his other affairs, he left England, and went into Flanders. Soon after the departure of her husband, death deprived her of her principal minister, Gardiner, bishop of Winchester. He was a man of considerable erudition: he wrote Latin with ease and purity, and in the Greek language, he was surpassed by few of his contemporaries. To these qualities he added a consummate knowledge in political affairs. But he directed all his talents to the support and augmentation of his own authority; and there is reason to believe, that he pretended a greater zeal for the religion of Rome than he really possessed, in order to secure the favour of the queen.

A. D. 1556.

The absence of the king, and the death of the chancellor, made no alteration in favour of the protestants. From

this it appears evident, that Philip and Gardiner were not the sole authors of the persecution. It was, indeed, the policy of Gardiner that had so long preserved Cranmer from the death to which he had been sentenced, in the hope of succeeding to the archbishopric of Canterbury, which had been promised to cardinal Pole. Cranmer had, in 1554, been declared a heretic; but it was the interest of Gardiner to preserve his life till Pole should be recalled. But after the death of Gardiner, the archbishop was soon brought to suffer the fate to which he had long been destined. He was tried before commissioners appointed for that purpose, and having acknowledged the charges brought against him, was cited to appear before the Pope within eighty days. There was something ridiculous in this citation, with which it was impossible to comply; and Cranmer declared against the injustice of condemning him for non-appearance at Rome, while he was closely confined in prison at Oxford.* The venerable archbishop being clothed in pontifical robes of canvas, which were stripped off piece by piece according to the ceremonies of degradation practised in the church of Rome, was sentenced to be

* Burnet, 2. p. 333.

burned as a heretic. Cranmer, on this occasion, betrayed a weakness unworthy of his dignity, and his former reputation. The hope of saving his life induced him to sign an abjuration of the protestant religion. This prelate possessed, in a sufficient degree, the art of dissimulation. During the reign of Henry VIII. he had temporized with success; but in that of Mary, hypocrisy could no longer avail. The queen regarded him as one of the principal promoters of her mother's divorce; and although it is said that Mary afterwards owed her life to his intercession with Henry, yet it appears that this good office had not effaced from her mind the former injury.* Having endeavoured to cover her vengeance under the specious pretext of zeal for religion, she had forgiven the treason for which he had been condemned at the commencement of her reign, in the design of putting him to death as a heretic. But seeing her measures broken by his abjuration, she was obliged to throw off the mask, and discover her vindictive spirit. His treason had been pardoned, and he had abjured his religion, consequently he could not be liable to suffer either

* Burnet says that Henry once intended to put Mary to death for her adherence to her mother's interests. Tom. 2. p. 240, &c. The fact, however, does not appear certain.

as a traitor or a heretic. The queen, however, was bent on his destruction, and she ordered him to be led to execution. On this trying occasion, Cranmer displayed a fortitude which might serve to atone for his former pusillanimity. Resolving that the hand which signed his abjuration should first suffer, he thrust it into the fire, and held it there until it was consumed. Thus fell, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, this celebrated primate of England—a man venerable for his learning and gravity, and who had long flourished in high authority and honour. His abjuration, which was certainly derogatory to his fame, might be attributed to human frailty. “The enemies of the reformation,” says a judicious historian, “triumphed in the fall of this prelate; and the protestants excused him in the best manner they could.”* His barbarous condemnation of the poor anabaptist woman to the flames, stamps on his character the impression of intolerant bigotry, which was, indeed, the vice of the age, rather than of any particular sect. His panegyrists, perhaps, may forget that so obscure an individual as Joan of Kent, had the same feelings as an archbishop, and that

* Rapis, 2. p. 45.

her life was of as much value in the eyes of her maker; but the impartial historian will confess, that this horrible deed places Cranmer too much on a level with his persecutors, and renders his fate less worthy of commiseration.

The persecution, however, was carried on by Mary and her ministers in such a manner as to render their memory ridiculous as well as detestable. It reached the dead as well as the living. Bucer and Fagius, two German divines, who had been some years dead, were cited before commissioners to give an account of their faith, and on their non-appearance were condemned to be burned. The sentence was followed by a warrant from the court ordering its execution; and the two bodies, in their coffins, were tied to stakes and consumed to ashes. The wife of Peter Martyr was also dug out of her grave and buried in a dunghill, because she had been a nun and had broken her vow. These violences had a contrary effect from what the court had expected. The magistrates began to relax, and scrupled to be the instruments of such ridiculous and useless barbarities. Circular letters were, therefore, sent to the different towns to inflame their zeal in the persecution of heretics; but these producing little effect, twenty-one com-

missioners were appointed with unlimited powers to sit upon trials for heresy. Thus was an attempt made to establish in England an inquisition nearly similar to that of Spain.

While the kingdom groaned under this religious tyranny, its foreign affairs were as unprosperous as its internal state was unhappy. Charles V. had, in the preceding year, resigned all his Spanish dominions to Philip, who, notwithstanding the care that Gardiner had taken to prevent a mixture of interests between the two crowns, found means to engage England in the war which he was then carrying on against France. The court

June 7th,
A. D. 1557.

of London having declared war against France, a body of seven thousand English was sent to join the Spanish army. By the help of this reinforcement the Spaniards gained the memorable victory of St. Quintin, in Picardy. But this triumph of the Spaniards was soon followed by a disastrous blow to the English.

August 10th,
A. D. 1557.

The possession of Calais had, ever since the reign of Edward III. rendered England formidable to France. Yet this important place was now in so neglected a state that it was not provided with one-fourth part of the troops and ammunition necessary for sustaining a siege. Philip had given timely notice to the

queen and her council of a design, formed by the court of France, to make an attack on Calais; but the seasonable warning had been neglected until it was too late. This town which so long resisted the formidable arms of Edward III. was, after a siege of only seven

Jan. 8th,
A. D. 1547.

days, compelled to surrender to the duke of Guise.* The loss of Calais was immediately followed by that of Guisnes; and thus, in the space of fifteen days, the English were deprived of the last remains of their conquests in France.

This disastrous affair excited great perturbation in England. The whole nation exclaimed against the negligence and incapacity of the ministers.† But no one was more sensibly affected by the loss of this important place than the queen herself. She used to say, that she should not live long, and that if she should be dissected, after her death, Calais would be found imprinted on her heart. To add to her embarrassment the parliament was filled with complaints, that, by the pernicious counsels of her ministers, the queen had exhausted her treasury by the

* Two hundred and ten years after its capture by Edward III.

† The loss of Calais has been ascribed to the Spanish alliance; but it is evident that, with the same neglect, the same misfortune might have happened in any other war with France.

restitution of church lands and the foundation of monasteries.* These misfortunes and crosses, together with the cold treatment which she experienced from Philip, depressed her spirits and impaired her health. After languishing some time, in a dejected and sickly state, she died of a dropsy, in the
 Nov. 17th, A. D. 1558. forty-third year of her age, and the sixth of a bloody and inglorious reign.

The character of Mary is sufficiently developed in the history of her reign, which was an uniform scene of tyrannical intolerance and sanguinary executions. To an excessive bigotry, she added a cruel and vindictive temper, which she endeavoured to confound with zeal for religion. But when these could not be united she shewed herself cruel and revengeful by nature, as in the case of Cranmer, who fell a victim to her resentment notwithstanding his abjuration. One single action, however, casts a ray of lustre on her reign. This was her rejection of a project formed by the Spanish ambassador for rendering herself absolute,† an instance of patriotism which may render her character somewhat less odious in the eyes of posterity.

* Mary had founded several monasteries and re-endowed others, particularly that of Westminster.—Burnet, 2. 240.

† Rapin, 2. p. 49.

Her reign, as already observed, rendered England a theatre of blood. Historians disagree in regard to the numbers of those who fell victims to persecution, during the time that she sat on the throne; but it is generally acknowledged that five bishops, twenty-one divines, eight gentlemen, eighty-four mechanics, a hundred husbandmen, servants, and labourers, twenty-six married women, twenty widows, nine virgins, two boys, and two infants expired in the flames, besides seven that were whipped and sixteen that perished in prison. It would be well if these facts could be buried in eternal oblivion: but the historian must submit to the disagreeable task of relating the crimes of mankind. One remark, however, it is necessary to make. The number of those who suffered for religion was comparatively small, considering the violence of the persecution and the number of the protestants at Mary's accession. But the number of those who were willing to die for their faith was exceedingly small. Most of the executions took place in the diocese of London: in the whole province of York only one was brought to the stake: in the four Welsh dioceses only three suffered, and in those of Exeter, Wells, Peterborough, and Lincoln, only one in each: three a-piece in

the dioceses of Bristol and Salisbury, and none in those of Oxford, Gloucester, Worcester, and Hereford. Thus it appears that the persecution was chiefly confined to the capital and its vicinity, where Bonner directed the bloody business. It is also worthy of observation, that although bigotry gave the first impulse to persecution, yet it seems to have been chiefly carried on through motives of private resentment, to which zeal for religion served as a veil. Hooper had been active in procuring Bonner's deprivation: Ridley and Latimer had been the enemies of Gardiner; and it is evident that Cranmer fell a victim to the revengeful spirit of the queen. But from a consideration of the comparative small number that suffered throughout the kingdom, there is scarcely a doubt that, although the greatest part conformed to the church of Rome, many known protestants, that were not obnoxious to any of their neighbours, lived unmolested on account of religion. Although the extirpation of heresy was the principal object of the court, this reign is marked by an event of considerable importance in commercial history, the opening of a trade with Russia by the port of Archangel.*

* Archangel was the only port that Russia then possessed.

ELIZABETH.



ELIZABETH, daughter of Henry VIII. by his second wife, Jane Seymour, had always been attached to the reformed religion, although, in the persecuting reign of her sister, she had outwardly conformed to the church of Rome. Her religious sentiments were so well known, that her life was constantly in danger. Mary was equally desirous of securing the Romish religion, as Edward VI. had been for perpetuating the reformation, and both had the same apprehensions in regard to their successors. Elizabeth, therefore, was placed in a difficult predicament, and in all probability, she owed her life to the policy of Philip. That prince, on losing all hope of issue by Mary, apprehended, that if Elizabeth were put out of the way, the young queen of Scotland, who was married to the Dauphin, would assert her claim to the throne of England, and be supported by the whole power of France. The union of England with France, was what Philip had chiefly to dread, as the

While the negotiations were carrying off, Elizabeth was busily employed in re-establishing the reformation. After contemplating the transactions of the preceding reign, this might appear a difficult task. But to account for the events which history records, we must penetrate beyond the surface of things. Although, at this time, the whole kingdom appeared to be catholic, it was far from being so in reality. Many had conformed through fear of persecution, and many others through hopes of promotion. Accustomed to change their creed with the fluctuating circumstances of the times, the English of the sixteenth century could readily adopt any form of worship; and religion hung so loose on their shoulders, that the smiles or the frowns of the court were sufficient to fix the standard of their faith. Many of the protestants of king Edward's reign were easily metamorphosed by Mary into persecuting Romanists; and on Elizabeth's accession, they again became zealous promoters of the reformation. To these men it appears that popery and protestantism were equal, and that neither was any further regarded than as it might suit their temporal interests. Such being the general state of the nation, the few individuals of

either profession who happened to be more sincere, were easily overwhelmed in the torrent. In the case under consideration it may also be observed, that the sanguinary persecution in Mary's reign, instead of converting the protestants, had rendered the church of Rome odious, and greatly contributed to ruin the catholic cause in England.

From these considerations, it appears that there is nothing extraordinary in the facility with which Elizabeth executed her designs. In re-establishing the reformation, she proceeded exactly in the same manner as Mary had done in restoring the catholic religion, except that she put none to death for their faith. It is, therefore, useless to repeat the particulars; and it suffices to mention that Elizabeth, by employing the same means as Mary, procured such a parliament as she desired. In the first session all the acts concerning religion, passed in the preceding reign, were repealed; and six months had scarcely elapsed since Mary's death before the reformation was completely established. In order to see how the clergy stood affected towards this change, it suffices to observe that of nine thousand four hundred beneficed clergymen then in England, only fourteen bishops, twelve archdeacons, fifteen heads of

colleges, fifty canons, and about eighty parochial priests, chose to quit their preferments rather than their religion.* Their places were immediately filled with protestants; and thus England was completely reformed within less than a year, after seeing the adherents of the reformation condemned to the flames. It is somewhat astonishing that the same people, who, in the reign of Edward VI. appeared so attached to the reformed doctrines, should, in that of his successor, employ fire and faggot for their extirpation; and that they who under Mary burned the protestants, should, on the accession of Elizabeth, so readily conform to their opinions. In the space of 21 years the English changed their religion no less than four times, a circumstance to which history affords no parallel, and which, were it not authenticated beyond the possibility of contradiction or doubt, could scarcely be credited by posterity.

Elizabeth having accomplished her designs in regard to religion, had nothing to divert her attention from politics. Her external and internal concerns were almost equally perplexing. The king of France, the queen of Scotland, the Pope, and all the catholic

* Rapin, 2. p. 54. Burnet, 2. p. 396.

powers, were her enemies; for although Philip II. had not declared himself, she knew that he was far from being her friend. And she had also to guard against the Irish, as well as against a considerable part of her English subjects; for although the catholic party was not so numerous as formerly, it was not entirely suppressed. In these circumstances her only resources were the affections of her people and the wisdom of her administration. Her chief minister was Robert Dudley, son of the late duke of Northumberland, whom she seemed to regard from capricious motives, as he had neither abilities nor virtues to entitle him to confidence. But his deficiencies were amply supplied by the talents of Bacon and Cecil, the two persons next him in power. Both these were men of great capacity and indefatigable application: they regulated the finances, and directed the political measures that were pursued with so much success.

In a very short time it began to appear that Elizabeth had need of all her penetration, and of all the sagacity of her ministers. A year had not elapsed since her accession, before Henry II. king of France, discovered his design of wresting the crown from her head, and of placing it on that of his daughter-in-law Mary, queen of Scotland. Eliza-

beth was only a woman, and might be regarded as a bastard: Mary was the lineal descendant of Margaret, eldest sister of Henry VIII. whose will might be easily disputed; and the succession having been still more embroiled by various and contradictory acts of parliament, all these circumstances afforded the Scottish queen a plausible pretext for aspiring to the English crown, while, in consequence of her marriage with the Dauphin, she might be supported by the whole power of France. Henry II. desirous of uniting England and Scotland to the French monarchy, resolved to assert the claims of his daughter-in-law. He accordingly caused the Dauphin and Mary to assume the titles of king and queen of England, not doubting that their pretensions would be supported by the catholic faction. But in the midst of his vast projects, the French monarch was taken out of the world by a sudden and tragical death. The design of uniting the two British kingdoms to the monarchy of France, however, was not abandoned. His son and successor, Francis II. being a minor, the two princes of Lorraine, uncles to the young queen, were intrusted with the administration. One of their first measures was to send 2000 men into Scotland, under general La Brosse, with

orders to join the catholics of England, for the purpose of dethroning Elizabeth. But this feeble effort could produce no important effect ; and an English army being sent into Scotland, the French troops were obliged to evacuate that kingdom.

A. D. 1560. The death of Francis II. king of France, and husband of Mary, queen of Scotland, was sufficient to dispel all apprehensions from that quarter. His brother and successor, Charles IX. had no demands whatever upon England ; and France had then no other connexion with Scotland than as a common ally. The French court was also divided into factions, which so convulsed the kingdom, as to prevent it from being formidable to its neighbours. Amidst these perpetual jarrings, the princes of Lorraine, employed in struggling with their enemies at court, were not in a condition to support the claims of their niece, the queen of Scotland. In consequence, therefore, of this state of things, Mary, by the advice of her uncles, laid down the title of queen of England ; and, quitting France, returned to her own kingdom.

A. D. 1561. In proportion as Elizabeth had less to fear from France, she was sensible that she had more to apprehend from

Spain. Hitherto Philip II. had been afraid of seeing England and Scotland united to France. But when that danger no longer existed, he became gradually estranged from Elizabeth; and at length shewed himself her most inveterate as well as most formidable enemy, although some years elapsed before they came to an open rupture. From the time of Elizabeth's accession, many years had elapsed without any great events. The neighbouring states, indeed, were not in a condition to give her much disturbance. Philip II. had, by his arbitrary measures, driven the Netherlands to revolt: France and Scotland, rent by factions, were a prey to intestine commotions, of which religion was generally the pretence, although ambition was really the cause. Philip II. however, took every occasion to shew his enmity against Elizabeth, who, on her part, was determined to humble the overbearing and dangerous power of Spain. He supported the catholic league in France, in the view of placing himself or his daughter on the throne of that kingdom. Elizabeth saw how dangerous the union of France and Spain must be to England, and resolved to make every exertion to prevent its accomplishment. In this view, she supported the French monarch

against the efforts of his rebellious subjects, and the revolted Flemings against the tyranny of Philip. The queen of Scotland no longer styled herself queen of England; but could never be prevailed on to sign a formal renunciation of that title; and by her intrigues with the catholic party in England, she gave unequivocal proofs of her intention to assert her claims at the first favourable opportunity. In order, therefore, to frustrate these designs, Elizabeth fomented the commotions of Scotland, and by promoting the reformation in that kingdom, she attached a powerful party of the Scottish nobility to her interests.

The troubles by which Scotland was agitated, during the reign of Mary, have been minutely related by a numerous train of English and Scottish historians. In this compendium of English history, it suffices to delineate the outlines of facts, and exhibit a sketch of the causes that produced the fatal catastrophe of that illustrious princess, whose beauty and misfortunes have been celebrated by so great a variety of writers. Mary had been carried so young into France, that, on her return into Scotland, in 1561, she was totally ignorant of the manners, the customs, the ideas and inclinations of the people she was destined to govern. At eighteen years of

age she was ill qualified to curb a turbulent aristocracy, with which the most resolute of the Scottish monarchs had scarcely been able to contend. The changes in religion had also excited new troubles. The reformation was already established in Scotland; but the catholic party was still numerous and powerful. Mary, herself, was a rigid catholic, and desirous of restoring her religion, a circumstance which gave umbrage to the majority of her subjects. Elizabeth aware of her intentions to assert her claims to the throne of England, constantly endeavoured to perplex her counsels and excite factions in her court. The Scottish queen was thus surrounded by rocks and quicksands on every side. These difficulties were rendered more formidable by her own indiscretions; but her youth may plead some excuse for her follies; and whether she was guilty of the crimes laid to her charge remains a mystery which has baffled the investigation of historians,

Elizabeth could not regard the queen of Scotland in any other light than that of a dangerous rival; and she considered that the marriage of that princess, with any powerful potentate, might render her still more formidable. One great object of Elizabeth's policy, therefore, was either to prevent the

she took care to express the greatest esteem for Philip ; but alleged their affinity as an impediment to their marriage. The Spanish ambassador replied, that his master would remove this obstacle by procuring the Pope's dispensation. Elizabeth, finding herself thus closely pressed, and unwilling to give any affront to Philip, politely dismissed the ambassador, in order to have time to consider the proposal.

Before the close of the preceding reign the belligerent powers had entered into a negotiation for peace. Philip perceiving, from the changes in religion that were taking place in England, that his hopes of marrying Elizabeth were disappointed, concluded a separate treaty with France. And Elizabeth, finding the continuation of war unfavourable to her

April 2nd,
A. D. 1559. designs, soon after agreed to a peace with France and Scotland. It

would here be unnecessary to recapitulate the terms of the treaty ; and it suffices to observe, that one of the principal articles was, that the king of France should retain Calais during the space of eight years and then restore it to England. Here also it may not be improper to notice, that the French court never fulfilled the treaty, and that Calais was never restored.

celebrated, an interview took place at Bayonne between Charles IX. of France, and his sister the queen of Spain. Catharine de Medicis and the duke of Alva attended the conferences. It is not to be expected that historians, whatever they pretend, should be apprized of what passes at these secret consultations of princes; but they venture to affirm that, on this occasion, a plan was formed, and measures were concerted, for suppressing the reformation throughout Europe.* It is certain, indeed, that the Hugonots of France and the Flemish protestants took the alarm; and from that period may be dated not only the second civil war in France, but also the revolt of the Netherlands.† The king of France, at the same time, solicited the Scottish queen to enter into the scheme.‡ Mary had, therefore, two reasons for yielding to the proposal, the first was zeal for her religion, the second was the gratification of the French monarch, whose aid she might want in her future transactions with England. These considerations induced her to alter the whole system of her conduct, and to exert all her power and policy for the restoration of

* Thuanus, lib. 37. † Hen. Ab. Chron. An. 1565.

‡ Melvil. p. 126.

the catholic religion.* But events unexpectedly happened which disconcerted all her measures, and occasioned all her misfortunes.

The indiscreet partiality of Mary to her favourite Rizzio, may, indeed, be considered as the first false step that led to her ruin. On this occasion it is necessary to mention the origin of a man whose life and death influenced the destiny of many illustrious personages. David Rizzio was a musician of Turin. Having accompanied the Piedmontese ambassador into Scotland, he gained admission into the Queen's family by his skill in music ; and he soon found means to insinuate himself into her favour. The office of French secretary being vacant, she conferred it on Rizzio, who soon acquired so great an influence over the mind of his royal mistress, that every thing at court was directed by his counsels ; and the liberality of the queen enabled him to vie with the greatest lords in the kingdom, in the richness of his dress and the number of his attendants. It was with extreme indignation that the nobles beheld the power of this obscure adventurer, and with the greatest difficulty that they tolerated his arrogance. They also considered him as

* Keith p. 331.

a dangerous enemy to the protestant religion, and suspected that he held a secret correspondence with the court of Rome.* Nothing, however, could diminish the partiality of the queen to her minion: she loaded him with wealth and favours, and gave herself wholly up to his guidance. Rizzio had exerted all his influence in behalf of lord Darnley, and had greatly contributed to the promoting of the marriage, which was so agreeable to the inclinations of the parties but so fatal to their happiness.

Darnley's exterior accomplishments had raised him to the throne; but the qualities of his mind were far from corresponding with the beauty of his person. His understanding was weak, his spirit was imperious and ungovernable, and his want of experience rendered him deaf to advice. His attachment to the amusements and the vices of youth soon caused him to neglect the queen. By degrees he became careless of her person, and a stranger to her company.† To a woman and a queen such treatment was intolerable from a man whom she had made partaker of her throne. Her love was turned into aversion,

* Melvil. p. 107.—Buch. p. 340.

† Robertson's Hist. Scotland, 2. p. 9.—Rapin says that Mary first conceived an aversion against the king, her husband, 2. p. 71.

and in the company of Rizzio, she endeavoured to console herself for the indifference of her husband. The favourite was continually near her person, and she made him the companion of all her private amusements. The haughty spirit of the king could not bear this interference. It was insinuated to him, and perhaps he suspected, that a criminal correspondence might be concealed under the mask of political confidence. Various and complicated passions raged in his breast, and were fomented by several Scottish nobles, who were indignant at the power and arrogance of a foreign upstart. A conspiracy was formed, and measures were taken for accomplishing the destruction of the favourite. The earl of

March 9th,
A. D. 1566.

Morton entered the palace with a hundred and sixty men, without any noise, and seized the gates; and while the queen was at supper, with Rizzio and the countess of Argyle, the king, accompanied by lord Ruthven and others, entered the room. In spite of the struggles, tears, and entreaties of the queen, Rizzio was dragged from her by violence and murdered in an adjoining apartment. Dr. Robertson has observed, that one of the articles between the king and the other conspirators stipulated the preservation of the protestant faith, and that

the same men, who were preparing to violate one of the principal duties of morality, professed the highest regard for religion.* But in those times of semi-barbarism and bigotry, assassinations and other enormous crimes were frequently veiled with the pretext of religion, both by protestants and catholics, a proof that among every denomination of christians, unprincipled men can allege pious motives for the vilest of actions.†

The king, however, little thought that his own tragical fate was approaching. The assassination of her minion increased the aversion of the queen for her husband, and inspired her with a spirit of revenge. Another favourite soon occupied the place of Rizzio, and succeeded to all his influence. This was James Hepburn, earl of Bothwell, who, by his extensive possessions and numerous vassals, was one of the most powerful noblemen in the kingdom. Even in that turbulent age, he was distinguished by his daring ambition and unprincipled conduct; and history scarcely records the name of a man who had recourse to bolder or more singular expedients for raising himself to power. In the time of the

* Robertson's Hist. Scotland, 2. p. 21.

† Of this numerous instances are found in the histories of France and Scotland.

regency, when both catholics and protestants united to oppose the measures of the French, who threatened to bury the liberties of Scotland under the ruins of the reformation, Bothwell, although an avowed protestant, preferring the views of his ambition to the cause of his religion, adhered to the queen regent; and, after Mary's accession to the throne, amidst all the factions that perplexed her reign, he demonstrated his attachment to his royal mistress, by favouring her inclinations and supporting her authority. The young queen loaded him with marks of her bounty: her gratitude changed into love: his complaisance and assiduities which had created, continually strengthened her passion; and his immoderate ambition conceived that vast project which he carried into execution in spite of many difficulties, and at the expence of many crimes.

Mary being now far advanced in her pregnancy, fixed her residence in the castle of

June 19th,
A. D. 1566. Edinburgh, where she was delivered of her son James, a prince whose birth was a blessing to the whole island. The queen of England on receiving intelligence of this event, at first appeared to be somewhat disturbed in mind; but she soon recovered her composure, and accepted the

invitation which Mary gave her to be god-mother to her son.

But the birth of the young prince operated no change in the sentiments of the queen towards her husband. The death of Rizzio was still fresh in her memory, and she was frequently pensive and dejected. When the king appeared at court, he met with little respect from the nobles, while Mary treated him with the greatest reserve, and allowed him no kind of authority. Bothwell, in the mean while, directed her councils and possessed her affections. While things were in this situation, the king fell into a dangerous sickness, which some attributed to poison; but, as Dr. Robertson justly remarks, it is impossible, amidst the contradictory accounts of historians, to decide with certainty concerning its nature or cause.* The king languished some weeks in a dangerous state; but the strength of his constitution at length overcame the malignity of his disease. During the time of his sickness, Mary never paid him one friendly visit; but at length when he began to recover, she pretended to feel a sudden revival of conjugal tenderness. She not only visited him, but expressed for

* Vide Dr. Robertson's *Hist. Scotland*, vol. 2. p. 56, and authorities there quoted.

him an extraordinary degree of affection, which made a strong impression on the credulous husband. Her letters to Bothwell, however, make it plainly appear that this sudden transition from aversion to love was all artifice and deceit.

The queen, having employed all her art to regain the confidence of her too credulous husband, proposed to remove him to the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, under pretence that he would have easier access to the best medical advice, and that she, herself, could attend him without being absent from her son. The king suffered himself to be too easily persuaded, and was carried in a litter to Edinburgh. The house assigned for his residence was, from its situation, in an open field, known by the name of Kirk-of-field, and its situation on a rising ground had all the advantages of salubrious air to recommend it to a person recovering from sickness ; but, on the other hand, the solitude of the place rendered it extremely convenient for the perpetration of that crime with a view to which it seems to have been chosen. Here Mary attended the king with the most assiduous care : she seldom was absent from him in the day : she slept several nights in the chamber under his apartment, and endeavoured, by

every demonstration of tenderness and affection, to quiet any suspicion that might rise in his breast. But while he was fondly indulging his dreams of the return of his former happiness, he was standing on the verge of destruction. On Sunday the 9th of February, about eleven o'clock at night, the queen left Kirk-of-field to go to the palace. About two in the morning the house was blown up with gunpowder; but it appears that the king had been previously strangled or suffocated, together with a domestic who slept in the same room, as their bodies were found entire in an adjacent garden.

The whole kingdom accused Bothwell of this murder, and strongly suspected the queen of being his accomplice. Their subsequent conduct confirmed the suspicion. The queen put her infant son into the hands of the earl of Mar, in order to induce him to resign the command of the castle of Edinburgh, which she immediately conferred on Bothwell. As the whole nation demanded that justice should be done on the murderers of the king, Bothwell was brought to a trial before a jury of the principal barons of Scotland. On the day appointed he appeared before this tribunal, attended by so numerous a retinue, that

it would have been dangerous to condemn and impossible to punish him. Besides a numerous body of his friends and vassals, he was attended by a band of hired soldiers, who marched, with flying colours, through the streets of Edinburgh. The result of the trial was that Bothwell was acquitted. But the verdict was far from gratifying the wishes or silencing the murmurs of the people. Every circumstance, indeed, of the trial, gave grounds for suspicion, and excited indignation. All the measures of Bothwell having been so far successful; he resolved to push forward his ambitious designs. As a preparatory step, he procured Mary's assent to an act which provided, in the most ample manner, for the security of the protestant religion, hoping, by that measure, to diminish the popular indignation incurred by his crime. Soon after he invited all the nobles to an entertainment, and having surrounded the house with armed men, he declared to the company his intention of marrying the queen, and demanded their approbation of the match, which he said was not less acceptable to their sovereign than honourable to himself. His friends, who were privy to his schemes and devoted to his interests, expressed the highest satisfaction at what he had proposed: others, who

dreaded his exorbitant power, and had observed the queen's growing affection, were willing to make a merit of assenting to a measure which they could not defeat. In fine, partly by promises and partly by terror, Bothwell prevailed on all that were present to subscribe a paper, containing a declaration of his innocence, recommending him to the queen as the most proper person for her husband, and promising to support him to the utmost of their power against all opposition.

A few days after this transaction Mary went from Edinburgh to Stirling on a visit to her son. Bothwell having now brought his schemes to maturity, assembled his followers, and marching out of Edinburgh with 1000 horse, met the queen on her return, dispersed her slender train without resistance, seized on her person, and conducted her a willing captive to his castle of Dunbar.* Both the queen and Bothwell thought it expedient to use this appearance of force. It afforded her an excuse for her conduct; and she flattered herself that while she could plead that her marriage was the effect of constraint

* Melville, who was in her retinue, and was made prisoner, says, that she shewed neither terror nor surprise. And the officer by whom he was seized told him that all was done by the queen's consent, Melv. p. 158.

rather than choice, her reputation would suffer less among both her subjects and foreigners. The next step of Bothwell was to obtain a divorce from his wife: a process for this purpose was carried on at the same time before protestant and catholic judges, before the former in the court of commissaries, and before the latter in the spiritual court of the archbishop of St. Andrew's. The authority of Bothwell had greater weight than the justice of his cause, and in both the protestant and catholic courts the sentence of divorce was pronounced with the same indecent and suspicious precipitancy.

As soon as this infamous affair was concluded, Bothwell brought the queen to Edinburgh. She appeared in the court of sessions, and declared that she was now at liberty, and intended to take Bothwell for her husband. The marriage which had so long been the object of his ambition, and the motive

May 15th,
A. D. 1567. of his crimes was publicly solemnized according to the rights of the protestant religion by the bishop of Orkney, and on the same day it was celebrated in private according to the forms prescribed by the Romish church. One thing, however, was still wanting to the completion of his plan: the queen had resigned her son to the custody

of the earl of Mar, and all the address and authority of Bothwell could not prevail on that nobleman to deliver the young prince into the hands of a person who was so strongly suspected of having murdered his father.

Bothwell, however, did not long enjoy the elevation to which he had raised himself by his crimes. The disgraceful events, which had taken place in Scotland, had excited universal indignation throughout Europe. They were regarded, by foreigners, as a mark of infamy on the character of the nation, and the Scots were reproached as men equally regardless of the reputation of their queen and the honour of their country. These reproaches roused the nobles, who had hitherto been amused by the artifices of Bothwell, or intimidated by his power. A considerable body of them entered into an association, the objects of which were the protection of the young prince and the dissolution of the queen's marriage. On receiving intelligence of this confederacy, Mary issued a proclamation, requiring her subjects to take arms and attend her husband; but her orders were slackly obeyed. The confederates carried on their preparations with better success; and, having raised a considerable body of troops, they entered Edinburgh without opposition,

and were joined by the citizens. In the mean while, Bothwell having assembled his vassals and dependents at Dunbar, he and the queen put themselves at their head, and marched with a fatal speed to decide the quarrel. On the first intelligence of their approach the confederates advanced to meet them. The queen and her husband had drawn up their forces on the ground which the English had formerly occupied at the battle of Pinkey. The numbers, on each side, were nearly equal; but the queen plainly perceived the disinclination of her troops to fight in her cause. She endeavoured to animate them by promises, menaces, and tears, but all to no purpose; and such were the symptoms of fear and disaffection, which pervaded the army, that it would have been madness to risk an engagement. In these circumstances the queen demanded a parley. The confederate lords insisted on the dissolution of the marriage as the condition of peace; and Bothwell perceiving that his affairs were desperate galloped off the field with a few followers.*

* Although the remaining part of Bothwell's life has not the most distant relation to the history of England, the curiosity of the reader will naturally render him inquisitive concerning the fate of this extraordinary man. His first flight was to his own estate at Dunbar. He then escaped to the Orkney and Shetland islands. Hunted from place to place, deserted by his friends, and accompanied only by a few re-

This fatal reverse happened just one month after the marriage which he had accomplished by the most horrible crimes.

After Bothwell retired, Mary surrendered to the confederates, and was conducted to Edinburgh, amidst the execrations of the people. She was afterwards sent to the castle of Lochleven, where she was kept a close prisoner. The queen of England, on receiving intelligence of this event, dispatched Throgmorton as ambassador, with powers to negotiate both with Mary and the confederates. His instructions displayed a remarkable solicitude for Mary's liberty, and even for her reputation. On the bare professions of Elizabeth little reliance can be

thinders as desperate as himself, he armed a few small vessels which he had brought from Dunbar, and attacking every vessel that fell in his way, he endeavoured to support himself and his followers by piracy. A squadron being sent out against him some of his vessels were taken, the rest were dispersed, and Bothwell, with one single ship, was obliged to fly towards Norway. On that coast he attacked a vessel richly laden; but the Norwegians coming in armed boats to its assistance, Bothwell and all his crew were taken prisoners. During the space of ten years he suffered all the hardships of a rigorous imprisonment, without ever being able to procure any mitigation of his fate. Melancholy and despair deprived him of reason, and he ended his days in a most deplorable condition. "Few men ever accomplished their ambitious projects by worse means, or derived from them less satisfaction. The early part of his life was restless and enterprising, full of dangers and vicissitudes. His enjoyment of the grandeur to which he attained by his crimes, was extremely short, embittered by much anxiety, and disquieted by many fears. In his latter years, he suffered the most intolerable calamities to which the wretched are subject, and from which persons, who have moved in so high a sphere, are commonly exempted." Robertson's Hist. Scotland, 2. p. 115, &c.

placed; but the choice of an ambassador so devoted to the Scottish queen, affords some ground to think that, on this occasion, her solicitude was sincere. Her good offices, however, were ineffectual. The confederates, after various consultations on the subject, obliged Mary to resign the crown to her infant son. The earl of Murray was declared

regent of the kingdom; and a few days after, the young prince was solemnly crowned in the presence of all the nobles of the party, attended by a numerous concourse of people.

But, in times of civil discord, public opinion is fluctuating, and events are often contrary to expectation. The elevation of Murray to the regency did not give satisfaction to all; and his distant and haughty deportment offended several of the nobles. The queen's faction, which seemed to be totally suppressed, began to revive, and was secretly favoured by some who had hitherto zealously concurred with the confederates.

At this favourable juncture, Mary having gained the brother of her keeper, escaped from prison to the surprise and consternation of her enemies. Her friends immediately flew to arms, and, in a few days, her court was filled with a splendid train of nobles,

accompanied by such numbers of followers as formed an army of six thousand men. In their presence she revoked her resignation of the crown, which the nobles of her party declared to be illegal and void, as having been extorted by fear. And an association was formed for the defence of her person and authority, signed by nine bishops, nine earls, eighteen lords, and many gentlemen of distinction.

In this dangerous exigency, the regent concerted his measures with prudence and acted with vigour. He soon drew together his adherents from different parts of the kingdom, and resolved to hazard a battle. Mary was equally desirous of bringing the affair to a speedy decision. In her situation no resolution could have been more imprudent. Her cause was rapidly gaining ground; and she had reason to expect support from France. She had much, therefore, to hope, and her enemies much to fear from the protraction of the war. But the rashness of Mary, in resolving to fight, was not greater than the misconduct of her general in the battle. Their fatal temerity led them to attack the regent in a strong position among gardens and inclosures, where they could derive no advantage from the superior number of their

cavalry: their vanguard rushing impetuously forward, and leaving the main body far behind, was soon broken, and the route became general.* Mary viewed from an eminence what passed in the field with emotions not easily to be described. When she saw the army, which was her last hope, thrown into irretrievable confusion, she began her flight with the utmost consternation, and made no stop till she reached the abbey of Dundrenan, in the county of Galloway, sixty miles from the field of battle. Here she began to reflect on her situation; and her fears impelled her to adopt a measure which proved the most unfortunate of her whole life. This was her retiring into England, where Elizabeth is said to have promised her such a reception as was due to a queen.† Such a step, however, might, on several accounts, have appeared rash and dangerous. Mary was conscious of having endeavoured by her intrigues to disturb the tranquillity of Elizabeth's reign, and to advance her pretensions to the English crown. Elizabeth, on the other hand, had constantly supported

* Melv. Mem. p. 181. Buch. lib. 19.

† Camden, p. 499. This author says that Elizabeth promised Mary not only an asylum, but also assistance. But Rapin gives no credit to that part of the story. Vide Rap. 2. p. 83.

Mary's rebellious subjects, and fomented all the troubles in which her affairs had been involved. From these considerations, it appears that the Scottish queen was guilty of a great act of imprudence in throwing herself into the hands of a princess, who, both from inclination and interest, was her enemy. The danger of such a step was so clearly seen by lords Herries, Fleming, and others of her attendants, that they conjured her, even on their knees, not to confide in the promises or generosity of Elizabeth. But Mary was in a perplexing situation. She dreaded to fall a second time into the hands of her exasperated subjects: to escape into France was almost impossible: England, therefore, was the only asylum that her destiny seemed to afford. Imperious circumstances thus directed her fatal choice. In spite of the entreaties of her friends, she embarked in a fishing boat at Kirkudbright, and with about twenty attendants,* landed the following day at Workington, in Cumberland, from whence she was conducted with every mark of respect to Carlisle.

May 17th,
A. D. 1568.

tendants,* landed the following day at Workington, in Cumberland, from whence she was conducted with every mark of respect to Carlisle.

This digression concerning the affairs of Scotland appeared necessary, in order not

* Spotswood, p. 217. Anderson's Collect. vol. 4. p. 2, &c.

only to exhibit the series of events by which the queen of England got possession of the person of so dangerous a rival, but also to enable the reader to judge in what degree Mary is entitled to the commiseration of posterity.* Her beauty and her misfortunes have rendered her famous in history, and there never was a princess whom different writers have been more solicitous to condemn or exculpate. Religious prejudice, and respect for the family of Stuart, are the causes of this variety of sentiment. Almost all the Roman catholic writers that treat of these affairs, endeavour to prove that Mary was innocent of the murder of her husband, and ascribe that crime to the earl of Murray; and in this they are supported by Camden, a protestant historian of great reputation. But, it must be observed, that Camden wrote his annals after her son James had ascended the English throne. Buchanan, on the contrary, plainly asserts that Bothwell committed the murder, with Mary's approbation, and Melville intimates the same, although in less positive terms. Whether Mary was guilty

* For more particular details and investigations, vide Buchanan, Keith, Melvil, Camden, Knox, Anders. Collect. &c. Among more modern historians consult Rapin's Hist. England, vol. 2. p. 69, 83; and Robertson's Hist. Scotland, vol. 1. p. 356. to vol. 2. p. 139.

or not, is therefore known only to the searcher of hearts ; but it is evident that a variety of circumstances concur to turn the balance against her in the mind of the impartial inquirer, and greatly diminish the horror which Elizabeth's conduct is otherwise calculated to excite.

Mary, on her arrival in England, wrote a long letter to the queen, representing her distressful situation, and imploring protection and aid. An affair so uncommon and so unexpected, demanded the attention of Elizabeth and her council. Three different resolutions might have been taken with regard to the fugitive queen : the first was to reinstate her on her throne ; the second to remain neuter between her and her subjects, and only to offer her an asylum, with liberty to retire into any other country ; the third was to detain her in England. Each of these was proposed, and its probable consequences investigated with the most minute accuracy by Elizabeth and her ministers. The first might have seemed the most generous, the second would have been the most equitable ; but generosity and justice do not always direct the determinations of cabinets. Elizabeth regarded her own security as superior to every other consideration. She was not ignorant

that the restoration of Mary to her throne would render her more powerful than she had been before her expulsion; and, as the gratitude of princes is seldom strong or lasting, a regard to her own interests might efface her obligations to her benefactress from her memory, and prompt her to revive her own pretensions to the English crown.* To suffer her to return without assistance to Scotland, or to retire into France might be equally dangerous. In the former case her party in Scotland would revive, and a single victory might render her more formidable than ever to Elizabeth. The dangerous consequences of suffering her to take refuge in France were still more obvious. Honour, friendship, and policy, would prompt Charles IX. to lend his assistance towards restoring his sister-in-law and ally to her throne. In that case, Elizabeth would see a French army overawing the Scots, and ready to enter her kingdom; and, at the first favourable opportunity, the princes of Lorraine might resume their ambitious projects, and England might be invaded by the united forces of France and Scotland. Nothing, therefore, but the detention of the Scottish queen could satisfy the cautious

* Burnet says this was the first intention. Hist. Ref. 2, 416.

policy of Elizabeth. Such a measure, indeed, was calculated to excite the indignation of Europe; but, in balancing opposite inconveniences, Elizabeth and her council considered this as the least dangerous, and accordingly adopted the resolution that seemed the most expedient, although the least conformable to honour or equity.

In order to dissemble her views, and colour her proceedings with an appearance of justice and honour, Elizabeth made great professions of friendship to the captive queen, but refused to see her till she had exculpated herself from the charges with which she was branded. Commissioners were appointed to examine the affair, and conferences for that purpose were opened at York, where the regent of Scotland appeared in person, accompanied by eleven deputies. But, in consequence of the remonstrances of the duke of Norfolk and some of the Scottish lords, the regent brought no accusation against the queen. The regent was then invited to London, and new commissioners were appointed. A new examination took place at Hampton court, but with no better success.* Opposing interests and intricate cavils prevented a fair investigation

* *Lesley's Negot.* p. 24.

and Mary, by suddenly revoking the commission given to her deputies, and excepting against the English commissioners, unless the French and Spanish ambassadors were joined with them, put a stop to the proceedings. The purpose of Elizabeth was answered, as the affair being left undecided, afforded her a pretext for detaining Mary as a prisoner. And throughout the whole business, the dissimulation of Elizabeth appears to have been carried to a height which, although frequently equalled, has never been exceeded in any scene of political intrigue.* During

From A. D. the long space of eighteen years,
1568—1587. the reign of Elizabeth exhibits a

long series of political intrigues, plots, and conspiracies, which repeatedly endangered her life, and at length proved fatal to that of the Scottish queen, whose ruin was not less owing to the ill-judged efforts of her friends, than to the malevolence of her enemies. The duke of Norfolk, who expected, by her means, to ascend the English throne, privately negotiated a marriage with Mary, and she attempted to break off that which she had contracted with Bothwell. His hopes were

* For the particulars of these affairs, vide Camden Ann.—Melv. Mem.—and among modern writers, Robert. Hist. Scotland, vol. 2.

chiefly founded on the intrigues of Rome, and the arms of Spain; but the spies of Elizabeth discovered all his plans. The duke was in consequence arrested, brought to trial, condemned, and executed. Although the duke was a protestant, and died in the profession of that religion, yet it has been generally supposed, that the restoration of the catholic religion was to be the price of the assistance which he was to receive from the Pope and the king of Spain. On the scaffold, however, he declared that he never had such an intention.*

This unsuccessful attempt to effect the liberation of Mary, served only to rivet her chains. From this time she was more strictly guarded, and no person was permitted to see her but in the presence of her keepers.† Mary still conceived hopes from foreign alliances. A new conspiracy was formed, in which Anthony Babington, a young gentleman in Derbyshire, was one of the most active agents. Six desperadoes were to assassinate Elizabeth: Babington, at the head of

* Although the duke made this declaration on the scaffold, and declared, at his last moments, his stedfast adherence to the protestant religion, Rapin, perhaps a little too rashly, supposes the design of restoring the catholic worship. Vol. 2. p. 101.

† *Stripe's Mem.* 2. p. 50.

a hundred men, was to liberate the Scottish queen ; and the duke of Guise, together with the prince of Parma, were to invade England.* This plot, like all the rest, was discovered by the sagacity of Elizabeth's ministers, and the vigilance of her spies ; and fourteen of the conspirators were arrested, tried, condemned, and executed. It is highly probable, that Elizabeth and her council had previously determined to put the queen of Scots to death on the first plausible pretext. Her claim to the crown of England rendered her a rallying point to all that were disaffected to Elizabeth's government, to all that were desirous of innovation, and to desperadoes of every description who might hope to derive some advantage from the troubles of the state. And as her life appeared to be incompatible with the safety of Elizabeth, it was determined to take this opportunity of putting her to death with the forms of justice. Forty-two members of parliament, and five judges, were sent to the castle of Fotheringay, where Mary was confined. Before this tribunal the Scottish queen was brought to her trial, and although she protested against its authority, yet she made a

* Camden, p. 515.

defence.* It is certain that they had no right to try the sovereign of a foreign kingdom; and her process was carried on with only a shew of equity. She constantly denied having taken any part in the conspiracy against Elizabeth's life; but she indirectly owned that she had not refused the offer of foreign assistance in order to procure her liberty. It would be useless to enter into the particulars of this trial. The death of Mary was, without doubt, predetermined. It suffices, therefore, to say, that she was condemned, and beheaded in one of the rooms of her prison. In her last moments, she displayed an undaunted fortitude, and declared that she died in the catholic faith. Elizabeth carried on her dissimulation to the last; and by her indirect and contradictory orders, so managed the affair, as to throw the blame of this tragedy on Davison, the secretary of state. On hearing of Mary's execution, she burst into tears, and shewed every token of an immoderate grief. She drove the privy counsellors out of her presence, and wrote an apology to the king of Scotland, in order to exculpate herself of the blame of his mother's

* For accounts of Mary's trial, vide Thuanus, lib. 86. and Cam. p. 520, &c.

execution, which she calls a "miserable accident that had happened contrary to her intentions."* Davison was cited to appear in the Star-chamber to answer to the charge of disobedience. It was alleged against him, that the queen, never intending that Mary, although condemned, should be put to death, had, for the preventing of dangers, commanded a warrant to be made out and committed it to his care and secrecy; but that he had communicated it to the privy council, and put it in execution without her knowledge. Supposing this to have been the case, the counsellors were not less in fault than the secretary, who had acted only according to their direction. Davison, however, was made the only sacrifice: he was condemned to be fined ten thousand pounds, and to be imprisoned during the queen's pleasure. A judicious historian conjectures, that if any precipitation took place in respect of the execution of the Scottish queen, it ought to be ascribed to Burleigh, Walsingham, and a few others, who had acted so openly against her, as to have reason to fear that they should be totally ruined if she should ever ascend the English throne.† But all the transactions relating

* Rapin, 2. p. 133.

† Tindal's notes on Rapin, 2. p. 133, note 2.

to this unfortunate princess, are involved in the obscurity of mysterious intrigue.* This only is certain, that she fell a victim to political interests. The death of the Scottish queen has impressed on the character of Elizabeth a stain which neither her dissimulation nor the prosperity of her reign could ever wash away. But although the execution of Mary could not be justified by any national law, and must be considered only as a measure of expediency, yet, in taking a more enlarged view of divine and universal equity, Elizabeth seems to have been an instrument in the hand of providence, for inflicting punishment on a criminal whom human laws could not reach. While we lament the misfortunes of Mary, we ought to consider, that if the schemes of her and her friends had succeeded, Elizabeth would have met with no milder a fate. We are too ready to censure and condemn the actions of princes, without considering the difficult and dangerous situations in which they often are placed, and to sympathize with the unhappy, without considering that their misfortunes are, for the most part, the effects of their follies or crimes, and that if success

* The curious reader may peruse Camden's Ann. of Eliz.—Mel. Mem.—And. Collect.—Strype's Mem.—Burnet's Hist. Ref.—Thuanus Hist.—Buchan. &c.

had crowned their projects and efforts, they would have shewn as little mercy as they experienced. In the contests of those who are regarded as the heroes and heroines of history, one must rise and another must fall : the issue is only their chance in the lottery of ambition : those who are unsuccessful are seldom entitled to a high degree of commiseration ; but may often be considered as instances of the retributive justice of providence.

The long period which had elapsed since the accession of Elizabeth, had been consumed in negotiations and political intrigues abroad and at home. The queen had sent a body of troops to assist the Flemings in their revolt against Spain ; but under the specious pretext of preventing them from throwing themselves into the arms of France. Philip pretended to be satisfied with this excuse ; but he returned the favour by fomenting a rebellion in Ireland, which, however, was not productive of any considerable effect. In England one plot succeeded another, with a rapidity of which few reigns have afforded any examples. But such was the cautious vigilance of Elizabeth and her ministers, that every conspiracy against her crown and her life was timely discovered. These plots, in which the catholics were always concerned, occasioned

several severe laws to be made against them; and, in some instances, they were rigorously executed. But in persecuting the catholics, Elizabeth was impelled by political not by religious motives. In the beginning of her reign, she had set them an example of justice and moderation, which it would have been their interest as well as their duty to imitate. The payment of the pensions assigned to the monks at the dissolution of the monasteries was, at that time, totally neglected, and many of those unhappy men, who had been educated in solitude and ignorance, were starving in old age. Elizabeth being informed of their distressful situation, ordered that their pensions should be paid with punctuality, together with all arrears unjustly detained. But the multiplied plots against her throne and her life, impelled her to commence a rigorous persecution against the catholics. Among other severe laws enacted against those of that persuasion, all catholic priests were ordered to depart the realm within forty days, their return subjected them to the penalties of high treason, and the harbouring of them was declared to be felony. Thus the cruelties committed by the catholics in the reign of queen Mary were retaliated on them in the days of her sister Elizabeth. Such are the

effects produced by blending religion with politics, and making it an engine for exciting commotions in the state,

A. D. 1587.

Elizabeth had sent troops into the Netherlands to support the revolted Flemings; but no direct war had yet taken place between England and Spain, although there had been repeated acts of hostility. The celebrated Drake amassed immense wealth by plundering the Spanish ships and settlements in his memorable voyage round the world.* And Philip sent a small body of troops into Ireland to excite a rebellion in that country. They were joined by a few of the Irish; but were soon compelled to surrender. The English, however, tarnished their success by their cruelty. Under the pretence of the difficulty of keeping them prisoners, they put the Spaniards to the sword, and hanged the Irish. An English fleet had been sent out in 1686, under the command of the earl of Carlisle and Sir Francis Drake, who captured St. Jago, one of the Cape Verd islands, as also the city of St. Domingo, in Hispaniola, and the town of Carthagena, in the province of Terra Firma, besides burning the settlements of

* Drake returned from his celebrated voyage round the world in 1680. He was the first Englishman that circumnavigated the globe.

St. Antonio and St. Helena, in Florida, and returned to England with a booty valued at sixty thousand pounds sterling. But the Dutch did not receive from the aid, which Elizabeth had furnished, all the benefit that they expected. The earl of Leicester, their general, aimed at the dictatorship of the country, which he went to defend; and on the complaints of the states was recalled by Elizabeth after a campaign in which he had performed nothing of moment. But his expedition was rendered memorable by the death of Sir Philip Sidney, who was killed in an action near Zutphen, and whose name as a soldier and a poet is illustrious in the annals of those times.* Leicester, however, was sent a second time into the Netherlands, where he resumed his former projects. But the states, having discovered his designs, committed the command of their forces to prince Maurice of Nassau. Leicester seeing himself distrusted by the states, is said to have formed the design of surprising the town of Leyden. But the scheme being discovered, all correspondence ceased between him and the states; and Elizabeth finding it necessary to recal him,

* Sir Philip Sidney, being mortally wounded in that engagement, died on the 17th October, 1586.

appointed lord Willoughby commander of the English troops in the Netherlands.

These are the chief military transactions which had hitherto taken place in Elizabeth's reign. But after the execution of the queen of Scots, the war with Spain assumed a more serious aspect. That princess had transferred to the Spanish monarch her pretensions to the crown of England. But Philip had also another claim, which, in that age, was of equal or superior weight. After the death of the Scottish queen, Philip was, by his descent from John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, the nearest catholic heir to the English crown. Many a war has been undertaken and many a kingdom invaded under less specious pretences; and Philip, like most other princes and statesmen, never wanted arguments to justify whatever seemed conducive to his interests. In order to support his pretensions, he equipped, in the ports of Spain, Portugal, Naples, and Sicily, a fleet which he called the invincible armada. It consisted of a hundred and thirty ships, carrying 2630 large pieces of brass cannon.* On board of this fleet were embarked 19,295 soldiers, besides 8450 seamen, and 2088 galley slaves;

* Strype, 3. p. 519, &c.

and the whole was commanded by the duke of Medina Cœli.* The duke of Parma, the greatest commander of the age, was to embark with an army of above thirty thousand men, as soon as the armada should arrive on the Flemish coast. The whole armament was then to proceed to England: the fleet was to be stationed at the mouth of the Thames; and the duke of Parma, after landing the army, was to march directly to London. Since the Norman conquest, England had never seen so formidable an armament approaching her shores. Elizabeth, however, was not unprepared for the attack. She had caused all the seaports to be fortified, and fitted out a fleet of above a hundred sail.† In the size, as well as the number of the ships, her fleet was inferior to that of the Spaniards; but the command was given to lord Howard of Effingham, high admiral of England, who was extremely expert in maritime affairs; and his vice-admirals were Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, the best naval officers of the age. Henry Seymour, second son of the duke of Somerset, was

* The command had been given to the Marquis de Santa Cruz, an able and experienced seaman; but he dying before the fleet was ready to sail, the duke of Medina Cœli was appointed admiral.

† Camden, p. 543. Stow, p. 749.

stationed off the coast of Flanders to prevent the embarkation of the duke of Parma. For the land service, about seventy-six thousand infantry, and three thousand cavalry,* were divided into three armies, in order to guard the southern coasts, and to cover the metropolis. Every county, also, had a body of militia well armed and disciplined, so that in case that the enemy had landed the English would have had a great superiority of force. But, on the other hand, the Spanish troops were, at that time, the best in the world, and the duke of Parma was one of the ablest generals that any age or country had ever produced. From these considerations a battle seemed hazardous; and it was therefore resolved, that if the Spaniards effected a landing, the country should be laid waste before them, in order to prevent them from procuring any subsistence except from their fleet.

On the 3rd of June, 1688, the invincible armada sailed out of the Tagus. But it had not been many days at sea before it was dis-

* The small number of cavalry mustered, on this occasion, must here strike the reader. But, at this time, horses were extremely scarce in England, and the breed unimproved: except in the stables of persons of high distinction, there were no horses fit for the army, and about 3000 was the whole number that could be collected. *Camp. Polit. Surv.* 2. p. 103.

persed by a storm. The scattered ships being reassembled and repaired, the duke of Medina Cœli sailed on the 12th July from Corunna. On the 19th the Spanish fleet entered the channel, and on the 20th appeared in sight of the English, who let it pass in order to follow it before the wind. Several desultory actions took place, in which the Spaniards gained no advantage. The Spanish admiral steered for the Flemish coast, in order to facilitate the embarkation of the duke of Parma. But while the Spaniards lay at anchor off Calais, the English admiral sent, in the night, eight fire-ships into the midst of their fleet. As soon as the Spaniards perceived their approach they instantly cut their cables and stood out to sea, and their fleet was totally dispersed.* Some of the ships stood to the north, several of the others were wrecked on the coasts of Flanders and Zealand. Some also fell into the hands of the Zealanders. The duke of Medina Cœli now seeing it impossible to execute his project, steered to the north; and after being pursued by the English till he had passed the frith of Edinburgh, he sailed round the coasts of Scotland and Ireland, and returned to Spain with only

* Vide Camden, p. 543 to 547.

sixty ships, the miserable remains of that formidable fleet which the arrogance of Philip had stiled invincible.

From this period England may date her naval superiority, which, although it has often been disputed, has still been preserved in spite of the efforts of every competitor. The English now shewed the Spaniards that they could attack as well as defend. Drake and Norris with an English and Dutch fleet burned the town of Vigo, and plundered several places on the coasts of Spain and Portugal. But in this expedition they lost six thousand of their men by sickness, and, although their booty was considerable, it was hardly sufficient to pay the expence of their equipment.* The English, however, under different commanders, harassed the coasts of Spain and the Spanish settlements, and captured many of their ships that were bringing home the rich produce of the American mines. In France, Elizabeth, by giving assistance to Henry IV. counteracted the ambitious designs of Philip, who had formed the project of uniting that kingdom to Spain, or at least of placing his daughter Isabella on its throne.†

* Camden p. 555.—Rapin 2. p. 138.

† Hensault Ab. Chron. An. Hensault calls this princess Clara Eugenia. Her name was Clara Isabella Eugenia.

Philip seeing his plans every where disconcerted by Elizabeth, resumed his project of invasion. But the queen, resolving not to wait the attack, sent out a formidable armament against Cadiz, where the Spaniards were making vast preparations. The English fleet was commanded by the high admiral Howard, and the earl of Essex was general of the land forces.* This expedition was attended with the most brilliant success: the English appearing unexpectedly before Cadiz, destroyed the ships in the harbour, and then took and plundered the city. Twelve hundred pieces of cannon were taken or sunk in the sea. Two galleons were taken by the English: thirteen ships of war, eleven large vessels freighted for the Indies, with all the warlike stores prepared for the invasion of England or Ireland were destroyed. The loss which the Spaniards sustained on this occasion was estimated at twenty millions of ducats, which, in that age, was considered as an enormous sum.†

Though Elizabeth was now triumphant abroad, yet domestic affairs continue to create

* The fleet sailed from Plymouth on the 3d June, 1596.

† The earl of Essex proposed, in a council of war, to keep possession of Cadiz; but the general desire of returning to England caused the proposal to be rejected. Rapin 2. p. 146.

disturbances which embittered the last years of her reign. The earl of Tyr-ouen or Tyrone, an Irish chieftain of great power and influence in that country, had long set at open defiance the authority of Elizabeth, and had at length induced the whole province of Munster to join in his revolt. The whole island, indeed, seemed ready to shake off the English yoke; and the queen and her council perceived, that without vigorous measures, Ireland would be inevitably lost. It was, therefore, resolved to send out an active general, with an army sufficient to suppress the rebellion, and the command was given to the earl of Essex, whose history forms no inconsiderable feature in that of Elizabeth's reign.

Robert D'Evereux, earl of Essex, was of a noble and ancient family, originally settled at Evereux, in Normandy, from whence its surname was derived. This nobleman was young, active, handsome, witty, and eloquent: his genius was bold and enterprising, his manners were elegant, and his views aspiring and ambitious: in the field and at court he ever appeared with superior lustre. Elizabeth had long shewn him marks of favour which seemed to indicate something more than esteem: in the masks which were performed at court, the queen and the earl were

generally coupled as partners ; and although she was upwards of sixty, and he not half so old, the flatteries of the world and her own vanity caused her to forget their disparity of age. His interest in the queen's heart promoted his interests in the state ; and he soon acquired an ascendancy in the councils. But his arrogance, in the end, proved the cause of his ruin. In a debate concerning the choice of a person to be sent to Ireland, the earl being unable to bring her to his opinion, turned his back with such an air of contempt, that the queen, provoked at his insolence, gave him a box on the ear. The earl immediately clapping his hand on his sword, swore that he would not have suffered such an indignity from Henry VIII. and instantly retired from court. The lord privy seal sent him a letter expostulating with him on his conduct, and advising him to ask pardon for his offence. Essex returned an answer, in which he spoke of the queen in such disrespectful terms as could only tend to widen the breach. At length, however, he made his submission, and was not only readmitted to favour but appointed to the office of lord deputy of Ireland.

The designs of the earl of Essex have never been clearly developed. By the affability of

his manners he was become the idol of the people, and he is supposed to have solicited the command in Ireland in order to gain the affections of the soldiery, and have an army devoted to his service. About the end of

A. D. 1599. March he departed for Ireland with an army of twenty thousand foot and one thousand three hundred horse, a more formidable force than the English had ever before sent to that island. The earl, however, performed nothing of moment; and instead of attacking Tyrone he concluded a truce with that rebel chief. Such conduct had been so little expected from a general who had ever been distinguished by his activity and enterprising spirit, that the court began to suspect him of ill designs; and his enemies spared no pains to foment these suspicions. Essex, on receiving this intelligence, returned to England to justify himself without asking leave of the queen. On his arrival he was arrested, and after being tried before a special commission, and found guilty of disobedience, was condemned to imprisonment during the queen's pleasure. The earl received this chastisement with so much humility, that the queen, whose affection for him was not extinguished, left him entirely at liberty, and only forbade him to

appear at court. His impatience, however, soon precipitated him into dangerous projects. His house became the rendezvous of all who were disaffected to the queen and her ministers. These proceedings could not be kept secret, as his enemies had spies who frequented his house, watched all his actions, and reported his words with malicious aggravation. Among other expressions some, either true or forged, were capable of making him forfeit for ever the affection of the queen. She was told that the earl had said "she was grown an old woman, and no less crooked and distorted in her mind than in her body." Such words could never be forgiven by Elizabeth. Although she was now verging toward seventy, she could not bear to be thought either old or ugly; and to express a contempt for her person was the surest way to forfeit her favour.

The earl of Essex having composed a council, consisting of the earl of Southampton and some others of his partizans, it was resolved to seize the person of the queen. But finding that the plot was discovered, he rushed out from his house into the Strand*

* His house was near Temple Bar, in the place now occupied by D'Evereux-court, Essex-street.

with about three hundred of his friends, and marched into the city, hoping to be supported by the citizens. Finding that no one joined him, he resolved to return to his house; but on coming to Ludgate he found chains drawn across the street, and a body of soldiers posted to oppose his passage. Essex and his partizans attacked them sword in hand but without success. Finding it impossible to force his way, he retreated to Queenhithe, where he took boat with a few of his followers, the rest being dispersed, and went to his own house, which was immediately after invested by the lord admiral. The conspirators being summoned to surrender, they answered, that their intention was to die with their arms in their hands, and the lord Sands, in particular, represented to the earl of Essex that it was more honourable to fall by the sword than the ax. But the earl, suddenly changing his mind, surrendered on condition of civil treatment and a legal trial, and that Aston, a presbyterian minister, should be sent to comfort him in prison. The principal conspirators were conveyed in boats to the Tower: the rest were committed to different prisons. The earls of Essex and Southampton were shortly after brought to trial and condemned to die as traitors. Influenced by the admonitions of

Aston, the minister, Essex appeared very penitent, and, through the fear of damnation, not only confessed his guilt, but named all the persons concerned in the conspiracy, some of whom had never been suspected. On

Feb. 25th,
A. D. 1601.

the day appointed for his execution, the queen appeared irresolute. She sent to the lieutenant of the Tower to countermand the execution, but presently after ordered him to proceed. This irresolution, pretended or real, has afforded matter for a number of plays and romances, in which Elizabeth, although in her sixty-eighth year, is represented as struggling between love and anger; and some of these tales, formed in the imagination of writers, have been adopted in history. Her hesitation, however, did not save this unfortunate and infatuated nobleman: she could not but resent his contemptuous ingratitude; and she found his life inconsistent with her safety. He was therefore beheaded pursuant to his sentence, and died with every mark of sincere contrition.*

Thus ended the life and the projects of the celebrated earl of Essex—projects that were

* The earl of Southampton was kept in prison, and at length pardoned; only a few of the other conspirators were executed, the rest were punished by fines, &c.

never fully known ; but whatever they were, nothing could be worse concerted than the plan of carrying them into execution. It appears, indeed, that this nobleman, notwithstanding his brilliant qualities, was not endowed with the calm prudence, and patient perseverance, requisite for the accomplishment of great undertakings. He seems to have been more the knight-errant, than the general or statesman. His whole conduct through life shews him to have been fickle, vain, haughty, and impatient ; and the implicit confidence which he placed in the minister whom he chose for his spiritual guide, indicates that he was tinctured with fanaticism, which caused marshal Biron to observe that his behaviour at his death would have been more becoming in a monk than a soldier.*

After the death of this favourite, Elizabeth is said to have appeared pensive and melancholy. She survived him only two years ; and historians forgetting that old women must die, represent her sorrow for his tragical

* It has been supposed that the design of the earl of Essex was to dethrone Elizabeth, and to place the king of Scotland on the throne ; and that he had entered into a treaty with that monarch. Nothing of this, however, is certain. It seems rather that the earl had only intended to make use of James's title, in order to ruin Elizabeth, and then to set the crown on his own head ; as he could trace his descent from Edward III. Vide Rapin, 2. p. 149 and 158.

exit as the cause of her dissolution. Other circumstances, however, concurred to wound her feelings. In regard to public affairs, her reign was prosperous to its conclusion. The naval war against Spain was continued with success, and the famous Irish rebel, the earl of Tyrone, was compelled to make his submission. But, notwithstanding the prosperity of her government, Elizabeth had the mortification to see herself grossly neglected by most of her courtiers, who judging, from her age and declining health, that she had not long to live, courted with emulation the favour of the king of Scotland, the presumptive heir to her crown. After having named that prince as her successor, she expired
March 24th,
A. D. 1603. in the seventieth year of her age, and the forty-fourth of her reign.

In the annals of Europe, we scarcely find a crowned head whose character has been more variously depicted than that of Elizabeth. Religious prejudice has been the chief cause of this difference among historians. The catholics represent her as the greatest of tyrants, the protestants regard her as the paragon of sovereigns. Both parties have carried too far their censure and their applause. She possessed a sound judgment and extensive erudition, being well acquainted with the

Latin and Greek languages.* Her whole conduct, from the beginning to the end of her reign, shews her to have been a consummate politician. She was completely mistress of the art of dissimulation, an art so necessary to the rulers of mankind. But her dissimulation was exercised for the preservation of her crown and the prosperity of her kingdom, rather than for the invasion of the property of her neighbours. Her art of government, and the whole system of her politics consisted of three leading maxims, from which she was never known to deviate. These were to secure the affections of her subjects, to be frugal of her treasures, and to excite dissensions among her enemies. In all these measures she succeeded to her wish. By her economy she gained the love and confidence of her people; and her parliaments never withheld those subsidies which they knew would be employed for the benefit of the state. Her frugality, however, did not prevent her from keeping a brilliant court. On the contrary, her skilful economy enabled her to display a splendour and magnificence which revived the idea of the times of chivalry.

* She shewed M. de Colignon a Latin translation of some of the tragedies of Sophocles, and of two of Demosthenes's orations which was her own performance, as also a Greek epigram of her own composing. Hensault Ab. Chron An. 1608.

Elizabeth was greater in her public than in her private character; and, notwithstanding her excellent sense, she had never the discernment to discover her want of beauty. Her vanity in this respect remained undiminished by age; and to flatter her charms, even on the verge of seventy, was the surest method of gaining her favour. Her morals have sometimes been the subject of, perhaps, groundless censure; and sometimes of fulsome panegyric, both which have been lavished on her character by prejudiced historians. Her affections for her male favourites has been represented by her panegyrists as purely platonic, while those who indulge in sarcasm shrewdly observe that her extreme partiality for the handsomest men of her court, although they had no other merit, indicated a taste for pleasures not merely ideal. It is, however, remarkable, that although she delighted in seeing lovers at her feet, she rejected or evaded every proposal of marriage, and would never yield to the solicitations of the parliament for that purpose. As to her religion there can be no doubt that she was a protestant; but her zeal seems to have been as much the effect of policy as of persuasion. She cannot be acquitted of the charge of persecution; but this religious intolerance was the vice of both catholics and

protestants in that fanatical age. This was a necessary consequence of confounding religion with politics; for although it cannot be denied that a considerable number of catholics were put to death in Elizabeth's reign, yet there was scarcely one but what suffered for treasonable plots and conspiracies. In the first eleven years of her reign, not one catholic was persecuted for religion.* But at length she departed from her tolerant principles, and became a furious persecutor not only of the Romanists, who had exasperated her by repeated provocations, but also of such protestants as dissented in some points from the established church, and who were distinguished by the name of Puritans. In the year 1582, a statute was enacted by the parliament, subjecting to a penalty of twenty pounds per month, those who absented themselves from their parish churches on the days appointed for divine service. And another act of 1593, subjected all such offenders to imprisonment until they conformed to the established church: if they refused they were to be banished the realm, and deemed guilty of felony if they returned. Thus was seen established in England the monstrous phœ-

* Sixty-two priests suffered death, and fifty-five were banished in the next twenty years of Elizabeth's reign. Camden, p. 649.

nomenon of a protestant inquisition; and the severities which then began to be exercised on the non-conformists produced terrible effects in the succeeding reigns. Nor was she less jealous of her temporal than of her spiritual authority. In politics, as well as in religion, her maxims of government were arbitrary; and she frequently intimidated parliament by imprisoning the members.* Her vices, however, were those of the times; and her system of politics was well adapted to her circumstances.† Notwithstanding her faults, which were not few in number, the kingdom flourished and grew formidable under her administration. And England ranks Elizabeth among the greatest of her monarchs.

The character of the English nation, during this period, is more worthy of attention and praise than that of the princess who swayed the sceptre. It exhibits the glorious and interesting spectacle of a people emerging from barbarity to civilization, from ignorance to science and learning. The vices and virtues, the happiness or misery of a nation,

* Millar's Hist. Eng. Gov. 2. p. 454.

† Mr. Hume says that Elizabeth possessed every power except that of imposing taxes, and compares her government to that of Turkey. Hume Hist. Eng. vol. 5. Appendix. This, however, is a mistake, Elizabeth did not possess the power of legislation.

depends in part, but not wholly on the disposition of the sovereign. Many causes must concur to produce these important effects. It was not owing to Elizabeth alone that England owed its rising prosperity. This was an age in which a new illumination had just been diffused, and a new spirit of adventure excited throughout Europe. The revival of learning, and its dissemination by printing, had enlightened the minds of the people: the reformation had given rise to independence of thought; and the discovery of America had extended the sphere of commercial speculation. England was not among the nations that first profited by this concurrence of favourable circumstance; but, amidst the general resuscitation of Europe, she could not remain long in a state of apathy. In the reign of Elizabeth, the people, as it were by a sudden impulse, began to exert all their native vigour, and genius put forth all its powers. An increasing commerce produced an influx of wealth and a naval strength, by which England acquired greater power than she had ever derived from the foreign conquests and splendid victories of her celebrated kings. The successful voyages of the Spaniards and Portuguese excited a general emulation. The English fitted out expeditions for dis-

covering a north-western passage to China, and though they failed of attaining that object, their voyages were the means of opening new channels of commerce. Drake and Cavendish circumnavigated the globe. Sir Walter Raleigh, at his own expence, led a colony to New England. The company of Russia merchants undertook, by the permission of the Czar Ivan Vassilievitz II. to open a trade through Russia by Astrachan and the Caspian Sea into Persia; but the war between the Turks and the Persians, and the robberies of their caravans by the banditti of those nations, put a stop to this commercial adventure.* Several trading companies were incorporated: among these was the Turkey company and the famous East India company, which has since subjected the Ganges to the Thames, and carried the English conquests beyond those of Alexander.† A celebrated historian severely censures the conduct of Elizabeth in erecting these commercial monopolies.‡ But in the infancy of trade, when capitals were small, these mercantile associations, with exclusive grants, were deemed necessary or at least highly beneficial.

* In one of these expeditions Capt. John Davis discovered, in the year 1585, the Straits which bear his name.

† The East India Company was incorporated December 31, 1599.

‡ Hume, vol. 5th Append.

External commerce was not more assiduously cultivated than internal manufactures. Great numbers of Flemings, whom the tyranny of Philip II. drove from their own country, found an asylum in England, and amply repaid the protection which they found by the arts which they introduced and the industry which they propagated. It would, indeed, be tedious to enumerate the various manufactures and mechanical arts that were introduced, invented, or improved during this period. Industry and commerce enriched the people: agriculture was improved: the feudal system began rapidly to disappear; and the influx and diffusion of wealth excited and disseminated a spirit of liberty which gradually produced the present happy and free constitution of this kingdom.

Among the glories of this reign must be reckoned the flourishing state of learning. Some, indeed, have considered this period as the Augustan age of literature in England, and one of our most eminent critics seems to favour the opinion.* It cannot be denied that the English nobility were intimately acquainted with the learned languages. The queen, herself, possessed an ample stock of

* Vide Dr. Johnson's preface to his dictionary.

classical erudition, and many of the ladies of her court understood both Latin and Greek. But notwithstanding the high authority above quoted, the most celebrated English writings of that age will not bear in smoothness and elegance of stile a comparison with those of the eighteenth century.* Some English writers of that period, however, do honour to their country. Among these Sir Philip Sidney, and Hooker, author of the famous work on Ecclesiastical Polity, hold a distinguished rank. Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, applied himself assiduously to reform the corruptions of stile. And the unfortunate earl of Essex contributed to the refinement of the English language. Of the poets two especially attract our attention: Spencer is famed for his "Fairy Queen:" Shakespear, by his theatrical pieces, has fixed the admiration of posterity. Francis Bacon, lord Verulam, was one of the greatest philosophers that any nation or age has ever produced. He combined all the powers of learning and genius. He freed philosophy from the jargon of the schools, and fixed it on rational principles.

* Dr. Johnson thinks that the English language has not received any real improvement since the time of Elizabeth. Pref. to dictionary.

JAMES I.



ELIZABETH, during her life, would never permit the discussion of any question relative to the succession. On the approach of death, however, she nominated James, king of Scotland, and confirmed her verbal declaration by her last testament. James I. therefore, united in his person every claim that descent, bequest, or parliamentary sanction could confer; and his accession may be reckoned as one of the happiest eras of British history. It realized the views of Edward I. and the junction of the two crowns of England and Scotland, which that monarch vainly attempted to effect at the expence of so much blood and treasure, was now brought about in the midst of peace and without opposition, by a happy dispensation of the divine providence, whose irresistible decrees deride the plans of human policy and the efforts of human power. The rancorous hostilities and predatory inroads which, during so many centuries had desolated the borders of the two kingdoms, were now finally terminated, and

England, when engaged in a war with France or Spain, had no longer a dangerous enemy hovering on her northern frontier.

Policy had restrained James, when king only of Scotland, from attempting to revenge the tragical death of his mother; but on his accession to the English throne it was readily perceived that he resented her treatment. He not only refused to wear mourning for the late queen, but denied admission at court to those who took that method of honouring her memory.

Although it might have been thought that as James united in his person every claim to the crown, his accession would have been satisfactory to all; yet before the king reached London, a conspiracy, or rather a project of a conspiracy, was discovered. The authors were the lords Cobham and Grey, Sir Walter Raleigh, and some others; and the design is said to have been to place on the throne Arabella Stuart, the king's cousin German. But the whole affair is so obscure that it could never be developed by historians. Some are of opinion that count Aremberg, one of the ministers of the Archduke Albert, at Brussels, had first suggested the plot, in order to destroy Sir Walter Raleigh, who, of all the men in England, was the most dreaded

by the Spaniards, and that he afterwards gave information of it to the king: others consider it as a state trick of the earl of Salisbury, in order to get rid of those who were intimately acquainted with his secret cabals for the destruction of the late earl of Essex, whom James regarded as a martyr to his interests.* But whatever was the origin of this mysterious affair, the result is well known. The conspirators were apprehended, tried, and condemned to die. A brother of lord Cobham and two priests were executed. The king ordered the others to be sent back to prison, but without giving them a pardon. Lord Grey died soon after: Lord Cobham at last obtained his liberty, but was deprived of his ample possessions, and lived many years in extreme poverty: Sir Walter Raleigh remained twelve years in the Tower, where he amused his solitary hours in writing his history of the world. Soon after the discovery of this plot the king and queen were crowned at Westminster. The July 25, A. D. 1603. plague raged at this time so dreadfully in London, that it carried off above thirty thousand persons in the space of one year.† As soon as the pestilence ceased, the

* Vide Tindal's notes on Rapin, vol. 2. p. 161.

† Stowe, p. 833.

king and queen made their public entry into London, where they were honoured with a grand display of magnificence. No fewer than seven triumphal arches were erected in the streets through which they were to pass, and the whole city and suburbs exhibited a continued scene of pageantry.

At the accession of James I. the English had made a very considerable progress in learning as well as in commerce; but philosophy had not yet illuminated their minds, nor had reason or christian charity inspired liberality of sentiment. The nation was composed of bigotted catholics and bigotted protestants. The latter were divided into two different parties, of which one adhered to the established church, the other was that of the puritans or non-conformists. The minds of the people had long been irritated against one another, and each party had persecuted the rest whenever it had happened to prevail. When James ascended the throne of England, the catholics regarded it as an auspicious event. He had always been represented as favourably inclined towards their religion, and they hoped not only to meet with a milder treatment under his reign than they had received from Elizabeth, but also to obtain a full toleration. The puritans carried

their expectations still farther. As the king had been educated in the kirk of Scotland, and had hitherto professed that religion, they flattered themselves that he would reform the English church, and regulate its discipline by that standard. Both the catholics and the protestant dissenters, however, soon discovered their mistake. James, from the moment of his accession to the crown, resolved not only to conform to the established church, but also to exert all his endeavours to support the hierarchy as the means of strengthening his own authority. He was, however, far more inclined to favour the catholics than the puritans. He regarded all differences in speculative opinions as mere questions of the schools, and of no farther importance than as they served to contract or extend the royal prerogative. According to this maxim, the unlimited power of the Pope was the only catholic doctrine against which he had any objection. While, therefore, he permitted the moderate catholics to profess all the other articles of their faith and to live unmolested, he ordered all the jesuits and other priests that were advocates for the papal authority, to be banished from the kingdom. But he did not make the like distinction among the puritans. Although

he had been educated in their religion, he was far from approving of its doctrines and discipline. He regarded their church government as approaching too near to a republican form to be compatible with regal authority ; and the frequent opposition which he had experienced from them in Scotland, confirmed him in that opinion. The order for the banishment of the jesuits, therefore, was followed by a proclamation enjoining all puritans, without distinction, to conform to the church. About forty-nine ministers were ejected for noncompliance with this edict, and many families withdrew from the kingdom, to enjoy in foreign countries that liberty of conscience which was denied them in their native land.* By this rigorous treatment of the puritans, James hoped to convince the clergy of his attachment to the church ; and, by the indulgence granted to the catholics, he expected to secure the affections of that party. But, in both these views, he was grossly deceived. In times of fanaticism, moderation gains the favour of no party. The bigotted catholics were not satisfied with a limited toleration, and the bigotted protestants, without any just grounds, represented the king as a papist.

* Spottswood, p. 479. Neal, 2. p. 47.

While James was thus regulating the concerns of religion, he was not less attentive to political affairs. War was his aversion, and he was therefore desirous of putting an end to that in which he found the kingdom engaged with Spain. The court of Madrid being apprized of his pacific disposition, sent the constable of Castile as ambassador to London,

Aug. 18th,
A. D. 1604.

and a peace was concluded, which opened to the English merchants a trade with Spain and Italy. This peace has been almost universally reprobated by the English historians, but without any just grounds.* Spain was now beginning to decline, and being engaged in continual wars with France, could no longer appear formidable to England.

The king now imagined himself to be freed from both foreign and domestic enemies. But while he flattered himself with the hope of reigning in perfect tranquillity, a few infuriate zealots formed a project, which, from its atrocity, seemed of infernal origin. In allowing liberty of conscience to the moderate catholics, he had excluded from this privilege those who were advocates for the unlimited authority of the Pope. But these

* Vide Tindal's notes on Rapin, 2. p. 169.

were the very men who were the most desirous of establishing their religion. A number of these desperadoes, of whom the chief were Robert Catesby, a gentleman of distinction in Northamptonshire, Thomas Percy, cousin to the earl of Northumberland, John Grant, Atabrose Rookwood, John and Christopher Wright, Francis Tresham, Guy Fawkes, Sir Everard Digby, with Robert and Thomas Winter, formed the horrid design of blowing up the parliament house with gunpowder, while the king should be delivering his speech to the lords and commons from the throne. In this view, Percy being one of the gentlemen pensioners, was appointed to hire a house adjoining to the house of lords. Soon after they had hired the house, they were informed that a quantity of coals, deposited in a large cellar under the upper house of parliament, were on sale, and the cellar was to be let as soon as they were sold. As nothing could be more favourable to their design, Percy hired the cellar, and bought the remainder of the coals. This being done, he sent for thirty-six barrels of gunpowder from Holland, and having lodged them at Sandwich, caused them to be conveyed by night into the cellar, and covered with coals and faggots. The success of the plot now appeared infallible.

The day for the meeting of parliament approached, and never was treason more secret, or ruin more apparently inevitable. Providence, however, in a singular manner, averted the impending danger. A few days before the sitting, lord Monteagle received from his valet a letter which had been left by an unknown person. It was without either name or date; and contained these expressions. "As you value your life, devise some excuse to absent yourself from this parliament; for God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of these times. Think not lightly of this warning: though the danger does not appear, yet they shall receive a terrible blow this parliament, without knowing whence it comes. The danger is past as soon as you have burned this letter." The contents of this mysterious letter surprised and puzzled the nobleman to whom it was addressed: although he suspected it to be only a trick devised to frighten him, he instantly communicated it to the earl of Salisbury, principal secretary of state. To all the lords of the council the letter appeared quite unintelligible; and the king was the first that penetrated the meaning of its mysterious expressions. He concluded that some sudden and dreadful danger was pre-

paring by means of gunpowder. In consequence of this interpetration, it was resolved that a diligent search should be made in all the rooms and vaults adjoining to and under the parliament house. The search being made about the middle of the night before

Nov. 5, the parliament was to meet, the
A. D. 1605. whole train of gunpowder was discovered, and a man in a cloak and boots preparing for the execution of the horrid design. This was Guy Fawks, who passed for Percy's servant, and who on being searched was found to be provided with a dark lantern, tinder and matches. The villain appeared undismayed, and on finding the plot discovered, boldly declared to those who took him into custody, that if he could have blown up them and himself together, he should have been happy. He positively refused to name any of his accomplices; but as soon as he saw the rack, the fear of torment rather than any remorse for his guilt, brought him to a full confession.

The conspirators, who were anxiously waiting the success of their project, finding that all was discovered, fled different ways in order to excite a general insurrection of the catholics. But with all their exertions they could not raise fourscore men. In the mean

while, the sheriffs of the different counties calling the people to arms, pursued the conspirators from place to place, till at length they retired to a house in Staffordshire, where they fortified themselves, resolving to sell their lives at the dearest rate. But a spark of fire happening to fall among some gunpowder which they had laid to dry, it blew up and maimed several of their number. After this accident, the conspirators adopted the desperate resolution of sallying out and cutting their way through the surrounding multitude. Some were instantly slain. Catesby, Percy, and Winter, standing back to back, fought long and desperately, till the two first were killed: the last was taken alive, although covered with wounds. The rest being taken prisoners were tried and most of them executed.*

The discovery and extinction of this conspiracy was wholly attributed to the wisdom of the king, who alone could penetrate the meaning of the mysterious letter. Some pretend that this letter was merely a trick of state, and that the first intimation of the gunpowder treason came from the king of France, who had received it from the jesuits,

* Vide Rapin, l. p. 170, 171, 172, 173.

and apprehended that the king of Spain might derive from it great advantages, as the latter had a powerful army in Flanders, which would have been ready to land in England amidst the universal confusion that must have followed the execution of so horrid a project.* However this may be, James had the credit of the discovery, and it contributed in no small degree to gain him the esteem of his subjects, who could not but admire his profound sagacity, which some of his flatterers did not scruple to ascribe to divine inspiration. But if his wisdom was exaggerated on this occasion, impartial history must acknowledge his regard for justice. Although the gunpowder treason was entirely a catholic plot, James was far from imputing it to all of that persuasion. For this reason he made no alteration in regard to his conduct towards the catholics, deeming it unjust to confound the innocent with the guilty.

A pacific reign furnishes but few splendid themes to the pen of the historian. James was naturally averse to war, and, under his administration, England enjoyed an uninterrupted tranquillity. But his whole reign was employed in efforts to extend the royal

* Vide Tindal's notes on Rapin, 2. p. 173.

prerogative. "His conduct after he obtained the crown of England," says a modern writer, "might seem surprising to those who remembered his former circumstances. Born and brought up amidst civil dissensions; surrounded by nobles, many of whom possessed a power little inferior to his own; exposed to numerous plots, by which his life was endangered, or which tended to lay a restraint on his person, and under his name, to convey the exercise of government to his rebellious subjects; in such a situation his political habits were formed. But he was no sooner seated on the English throne, than he began to hold a language, and to discover pretensions, that would have suited the most absolute monarch on the face of the globe."* From the moment of his accession, he seems to have been determined to push, to the utmost, those unconstitutional powers which Elizabeth and her predecessors had occasionally exercised, without considering the change in the minds and conditions of men. When the house of Tudor ascended the throne, the circumstances of the nation were extremely favourable to the establishment of arbitrary power, the nobility being weakened and

* Millar's Hist. Eng. Govern. 3. p. 151, &c.

impoverished by civil wars, bloody executions, and multiplied confiscations, and the commonalty in a state of vassalage and indigence. James found the power of the aristocracy broken ; but he overlooked the influence acquired by the people, who were now enriched by commerce, and beginning to taste the sweets of liberty. Instead of accommodating his views to the variation of circumstances, he adopted the arbitrary maxims of Henry VII. Henry VIII. Mary, and Elizabeth, and seemed desirous of carrying the regal authority as far as the most absolute of his predecessors. His exalted notion of the regal dignity was the ruling principle of his politics, and the impulsive spring of all his actions.

There was not, at this time, in all Europe, a protestant princess of royal extraction, and James would have thought it derogatory to his own dignity to marry his son, the prince of Wales, to any but a king's daughter. This consideration inspired him with a desire to conclude a match between the young prince and the infanta, sister of Philip III. king of Spain. The proposal was first made by the court of Madrid, and James received it with rapture. In consequence of this negociation, the count de Gondemar, a man of great

abilities, was sent as ambassador to London, where he soon gained so great an ascendancy over the king, that for many years the politics of the English court were visibly under his direction. His influence soon proved fatal to Sir Walter Raleigh, the avowed enemy of Spain. That distinguished person, after an imprisonment of twelve years in the Tower, at length obtained his liberty, but without the king's pardon. As his estate was confiscated, he found himself under great embarrassments. After so long a confinement, the court, with the intrigues of which he was now unacquainted, seemed to him a strange country. He was, therefore, resolved to seek his fortune in distant climes. He had formerly traversed the seas of America, and knew most of its coasts, especially that of Guiana. Having persuaded the king that he knew of a mine, from whence he could bring an abundance of gold, he obtained a commission with a supply of money for the equipment of twelve vessels; and prevailed on several persons of rank to engage in the enterprise.

A. D. 1617. With this force Sir Walter departed in search of the mine. It is pretended that in one of his former voyages, he had set up marks in order to ascertain its situation. But all the accounts of this trans-

action are contradictory and obscure.* This only is certain that neither the marks nor the mine could be found. Sir Walter, however, detached his son and captain Kemis with part of his squadron up the river Oronosko, under the pretence of searching for the mountain where the mine lay. But the mountain not appearing, the English took and plundered the Spanish town of St. Thomas. The son of Sir Walter Raleigh fell in the assault; and captain Kemis finding that he should be made responsible for this attack on the Spaniards, killed himself in his cabin. The soldiers and mariners loudly complained of being drawn into a chimerical project, and compelled their commander to sail back to Europe. On their arrival at Kinsale, in Ireland, he endeavoured to persuade his companions to go with him to France; but instead of listening to his proposal, they carried him to Plymouth, where he was put under arrest, and, by the king's order, conveyed to London.

Whether Sir Walter Raleigh willingly deceived others, or was himself disappointed, is a matter that has never been ascertained. It has, however, been supposed, with great pro-

* Vide Rapin, 2. 195. Rymer's *Fœd.* tom. 16. p. 798. and tom. 17. p. 92.

bability, that his mine was only a fiction, invented in order to obtain a commission and a supply of money, by inspiring the king with the hope of reaping a golden harvest; and that his original design was to plunder some of the Spanish settlements. So rash a measure, in a time of peace, and at a period when Spanish influence predominated in the English court, was scarcely consistent with the good sense and political sagacity of the projector, and could only be the effect of poverty and desperation. In every point of view the expedition was of a romantic nature, and its conclusion was tragical. The count de Gondemar complained of this act of aggression, and insisted on the punishment of its author. The king, therefore, willing to gratify the court of Spain, ordered Sir Walter Raleigh to be executed pursuant to his former sentence, which had been passed on him fourteen years ago.* He died with the fortitude of a soldier and a philosopher. On examining the edge of the axe by which he was to suffer decapitation, he observed, that it was "a sharp, but a very sure remedy for all the evils of life." His talents rendered him worthy of a better fate, and his

* Perhaps this is the only instance of a person under sentence of death being sent out with a royal commission.

catastrophe has been universally deplored. It may, however, he observed, that subjects who violate the peace subsisting between nations, are worthy of punishment: such, indeed, often occasion those wars of which the blame is generally thrown upon kings.

A. D. 1619. The influence of Spain also predominated in another affair, in which the conduct of James has been severely censured by historians. Ferdinand of Austria had been elected king of Bohemia by the states of that kingdom. But the deputies of the protestant provinces of Silesia, Moravia, and Upper and Lower Lusatia, had not been called to the assembly; and the catholic interest had consequently prevailed. In another assembly to which these incorporated provinces were called, the states resolved to make the elector palatine an offer of the crown of Bohemia. The elector readily accepted an offer too fascinating to be easily rejected. But the king of England was highly displeased at the circumstance. He considered the Bohemians as rebels; and judged that the elector's acceptance of the crown would tend to impede the Spanish match, by reason of the strict union between the two branches of the house of Austria. James, therefore, disavowed the conduct of

his son-in-law, and refused to give him any assistance. Several princes of Germany entered into a league to support the elector ; and if England had espoused his cause, and with a strong fleet kept Spain and the Netherlands in awe, he would probably have preserved his crown. The English nation was extremely surprised at the insensibility of the king to the misfortunes of his son-in-law, his daughter, and their children ; and in order to silence the general murmur, he was with difficulty persuaded to suffer a regiment of two thousand two hundred men to be raised by some lords, and sent to the palatinate. James, however, positively declared that he would not alter his measures, because the elector palatine had accepted the crown of Bohemia without so much as asking his advice ; nor suffer the ambition of a son-in-law to draw him into a war with the house of Austria.

The consequence of this determination was, that Frederick was driven out of Bohemia by the arms of Ferdinand, who had acquired an accession of strength by his election to the imperial throne on the death of his cousin, Matthias, besides being supported by Spain. After the elector was expelled from his new kingdom, the war was carried into his heredi-

tary dominions. The king of England, however, was desirous of saving the palatinate; and this he endeavoured to effect sometimes by negotiation, sometimes by menaces. But amidst these political manœuvres, Gondemar, the Spanish ambassador, in conjunction with the duke of Buckingham, governed England by their influence over the king. The parliament were desirous of supporting the cause of the elector by arms; and although James never thought of engaging in a war, he turned this circumstance to his advantage by talking of hostilities and obtaining a subsidy. This, indeed, was the only effect of the haughty tone which he sometimes thought fit to assume; for while he negotiated and threatened, the elector was stripped of his dignity and his dominions.

A. D. 1622. During the space of six years, the court of Madrid had amused James with the hope of a marriage between the prince of Wales and the infanta, without ever intending to realize his expectations. But the intricate machinery of politics is moved by a thousand springs, many of which are not easily discoverable. Philip suddenly altered his mind, and began to think that Spain might derive considerable advantages from an alliance with England. It would be to

no purpose to enter into a detail of the diplomatic manœuvres attending this matrimonial project, or to discuss their principles: it suffices to mention, that after all obstacles seemed to have vanished, it broke off in a sudden and unaccountable manner.

It was one of the foibles of James to be governed by favourites. The first who acquired an ascendancy over his mind was Robert Carr, who, without any other qualification than elegance of person and manners, arose to the highest promotion, and obtained the title of earl of Somerset, with several confiscated estates, especially those of Sir Walter Raleigh. An amour with the countess of Essex, one of the most beautiful and lewdest women of her age, was the cause of his disgrace. The countess labouring to obtain a divorce, in order to marry the favourite, Sir Thomas Overbury, his friend, used all his endeavours to dissuade him from such an alliance. The countess, exasperated at this opposition, excited her lover to revenge. By his insinuations and intrigues, the king was induced to commit Overbury to the Tower, where he was soon after poisoned by the earl of Somerset and the countess of Essex. For this crime they were both brought to trial; and being found guilty, received sentence of

death, but were reprieved, and afterwards pardoned, although they always remained in disgrace. The place of the discarded favourite was soon occupied. George Villiers, a young gentleman of small fortune, but of an elegant appearance and brilliant accomplishments, being introduced at court, attracted the attention and favour of the king, and soon acquired all the ascendancy that Somerset had formerly possessed. After passing through various degrees of promotion, he was created marquis, and afterwards duke of Buckingham. This minister, and Gondemar, the Spanish ambassador, had, as already observed, long ruled England without control, when the projected marriage of prince Charles with the infanta, seemed to be brought nearly to a conclusion.

Things were in this situation when the duke of Buckingham inspired the prince with the design of going disguised into Spain to court the infanta, an undertaking better suited to the ages of chivalry than to the manners of the seventeenth century. In this romantic expedition, Charles was the knight errant, and Buckingham his 'squire. They travelled through France under the names of Jack and Tom Smith, and appeared at Paris with large bushy perriwigs that shaded their

faces.* At Madrid they were received with all possible respect and magnificence; yet, strange to tell, the marriage treaty, which was nearly concluded before they set out from London, suddenly broke off, for reasons which historians have never been able to develop.† It appears that the rupture originated between the duke of Buckingham and the Spanish minister, the count d'Olivarez. It is certain that the count was highly offended by Buckingham's arrogant behaviour; but, in regard to particulars, all that historians relate is no better than mere conjecture.

The prince and the duke of Buckingham soon formed another matrimonial project. The princess Henrietta Maria, sister of Louis XIII. was the person on whom Charles fixed his choice, and the king, his father, readily gave his approbation. It was perfectly consistent with James's exalted ideas of royalty, to match his son with a daughter of Henry IV. and the treaty was soon concluded, of which, however, he did not live to see the execution.

On the breaking off of the match between the prince and the infanta, Buckingham had determined on a rupture with Spain. The

* Tindal's notes on Rapin, 2. p. 325.

† See the different opinions of historians in Rapin, 2. p. 225—Clarendon, 1. p. 14, &c.

king, though wholly averse to war, could not withstand the prince and the duke, who were now closely united.* A parliament, therefore, was called, a subsidy was granted, and preparations were made for commencing hostilities. James, who had always been a lover of peace, did not live to see himself engaged in war. He was seized with a tertian March 27th, ague, of which he died in the fifty-
A. D. 1625. ninth year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign over England.

The characters of princes are often drawn by partial writers, who, from prejudices, become panegyrists or calumniators. In regard to that of James I. prejudices have naturally arisen from the commotions of succeeding times, in which so many and such rapid changes took place in the public opinion. And posterity can estimate his virtues or vices, his wisdom or weakness, only from those traits which impressively mark his character. He has sometimes been charged with pusillanimity, and it has been said that he could not behold a drawn sword without terror. This story, however, like many others, may be

* Clarendon says that James alleged the insincerity of the court of Spain, in regard to the marriage treaty, as the cause of the war; but the whole was owing to the imperious behaviour of the duke of Buckingham, and his personal quarrel with the count d'Olivares.—Clarend. Hist. tom. 1. p. 22.

petitions; and his extreme caution in avoiding all hazardous undertakings, may have encouraged his enemies to fix upon him the imputation of cowardice.

His most conspicuous and distinguishing characteristic is his love of arbitrary power. "In public as well as in private, in his letters and his speeches to parliament, as well as in his ordinary conversation, the divine, hereditary, indefeasible right of kings to govern their subjects without control was always his favourite topic."* In religion, however, his sentiments were perfectly liberal so far as its doctrines did not seem to militate against monarchical power. With the single exception of the papal authority which was incompatible with his own, he regarded the differences between the reformed churches and that of Rome as mere theological disputes of little importance. But he viewed the doctrines of the puritans with a very different eye. He considered their system of ecclesiastical government as verging towards republicanism, and not to be tolerated under a monarchical government. For this reason he was their avowed persecutor during the whole period of his reign. His indulgence to the moderate catholics has caused

* Millar 3. p. 152 and 153.

him to be represented as being in his heart of that persuasion; but this evidently appears to be a calumny invented by his enemies. His dissimulation, which has been so much censured by historians, does not seem to have surpassed that of Elizabeth and some others of his predecessors, nor does he appear to have cultivated more of that political craft than was necessary to a statesman in so jealous and intriguing an age. James possessed a very considerable stock of erudition, and no less a portion of pedantry. He was well skilled in the theological disputes of the times, in which he was proud of taking a part. But his mind was imbued with the superstitions of the age: he appears to have been a declared enemy to witches and devils, whose intrigues he pretended to develope; and if his controversial writings procured him some reputation for polemical learning, his famous work on *Demonologia*, so extolled by some of his contemporaries, will not inspire modern readers with any exalted ideas of his philosophical attainments.

But whatever were the weaknesses of James, as a man, impartial posterity will not regard him as a bad king. In his pacific reign England made no splendid conquests; but her trade was continually increasing, and

the nation was happy in the enjoyment of external peace and internal tranquillity. Colonies were established in America. Water was conveyed from the vicinity of Ware to London by the new river, a work of incalculable benefit to the metropolis. The increase of commerce is demonstrated by the advance of the customs from £148,075. 7s. 8d. to £168,222. 15s. 11d. between the years 1613 and 1622. The increase of trade produced an influx of wealth which displayed itself in progressive refinement and the multiplication of domestic conveniences. The metropolis and the whole kingdom partook of these advantages: the feudal system was now little more than a name: the year 1625, the last of this reign, is marked by historians as the era in which hackney coaches began to ply in the streets of London;* and Great Britain would have derived still greater benefits from the administration of James, had not the English, through motives of jealousy, obstinately opposed his design of uniting the two British kingdoms in one monarchy. But although the reign of James was productive of so many present benefits, it proved the source of future calamities. His

* And. Hist. Comm. 2. p. 297.

arbitrary maxims of government were the cause of continual disputes with his parliaments, and gave rise to the two parties of Whigs and Tories,* whose opposite principles occasioned the convulsions of the succeeding times, although it must be confessed that the seeds of dissention were sown before his accession, and the source of the evil may be traced to the persecuting reign of Elizabeth, which, by disuniting the protestant church, laid the foundation for factions in the state.

* The Tories were the court party : the Whigs were the advocates of popular privileges ; and both carried their views too far for the peace of the kingdom.

CHARLES I.

CHARLES I. son and successor of James, ascended the throne amidst a greater variety of favourable circumstances than any of his predecessors. The kingdom was in a flourishing state: his right to the crown was indisputed; and his power was strengthened by his alliance with the French monarch, whose sister he married according to the treaty concluded previously to the death of his father.* These advantages, however, were counterbalanced by the critical posture of internal affairs, arising from the change which, during the reigns of Elizabeth and James, had gradually taken place in the public mind. The increase of commerce, and the consequent influx of wealth, had widely diffused a spirit of liberty, and the people were determined to oppose the ancient claims of their monarchs. Charles had unfortunately imbibed the ideas and maxims of his predecessors, without regarding the difference of times and circum-

* The marriage took place June 14, 1625.

stances. He ought to have considered that his subjects would no longer submit to be governed by precedents, which had their origin in times of ignorance and slavery.

This opposition in sentiments soon began to develope its fatal effects ; and as it is too often the case, both parties, instead of endeavouring to effect a reconciliation, widened the breach by their obstinacy. Although the war against Spain had been undertaken by the advice of the parliament, and with the universal approbation of the people ; yet Charles found the lords and the commons extremely backward in granting supplies. His repeated demands of money were invariably answered by petitions for a redress of grievances, by representations of the increase of popery, and of the dangers which threatened religion.

While the public mind was amused by these frivolities, it cannot be a matter of wonder that the national honour was an object of little attention. Through the want of sufficient supplies, the war was carried on with languor, and every expedition proved unsuccessful. It may here be remarked, that Charles himself, influenced by the counsels of the duke of Buckingham, had been the sole author of the war, which proved one of the

greatest obstacles to his arbitrary views, by rendering him dependent on his parliament for the means of its prosecution. The parliament was dissolved after its deliberations had been nothing more than a series of cavils with the court. In this critical state of affairs, sound policy offered to Charles only this alternative—either to grant the demands of the parliament, or to conclude a peace. But neither of these measures were adopted; and while the king was unable to support the contest with Spain, he rashly engaged in a war with France, expecting, perhaps, that the pressure of affairs and regard for the honour of the nation would bring the commons to compliance. If such was his expectation, it proved ill grounded. Another parliament was called with no better success. The old complaints were renewed, and a frivolous accusation was brought against the duke of Buckingham. Two members of the house of commons undertook his impeachment; and the king exasperated at this attack on his favourite minister, ordered them both to the Tower. The commons protested against this violation of their privileges; and Charles, overcome by their firmness, released the imprisoned members, as well as the earl of Arundel, who had been committed for the same offence.

The duke of Buckingham having thus triumphed over his enemies, was sent by the king with a fleet and an army to the relief of the protestant town of Rochelle, then besieged by the troops of the French monarch. But the Rochellers being unapprized of his coming, and fearing a surprise, refused to admit the English forces into the town. And the duke, who was totally ignorant both of naval and military affairs, after making an unskilful and unsuccessful attack on the isle of Rhee, returned to England with the loss of three-fourths of his army.

Charles having been unable to obtain supplies from the parliament, had found himself obliged to adopt the arbitrary measure of forcing a loan from his subjects. This plan was carried into rigorous execution: those of the lower class, who refused to subscribe to the loan, were enrolled for soldiers; and persons of rank, who were guilty of the same offence, were committed to the different prisons of London. The opposition to these measures of the court, however, was so great that the difficulty of procuring, by such means, the requisite supplies obliged the king to have recourse to the calling of a new parliament, which proved no less refractory than the former. The royal demand of money was met by a petition of

A. D. 1628.

rights, requiring, that no freeman should be imprisoned or put under any restraint without a legal cause of detention, to be followed by a legal trial, and that no tax, loan, benevolence, or other charge should be levied on the people by the king or his ministers without the authority of parliament. The king, however, confirmed these indisputable rights of the subject, and the commons consented to grant a subsidy.

While these things were transacting, the town of Rochelle being still besieged by the catholic army, and reduced to the greatest extremity, the inhabitants applied to the court of London for that relief which their fears had once induced them to refuse. A fleet was therefore prepared for that purpose, and the duke of Buckingham, notwithstanding his former failure, was again appointed to the command. But the termination of his career was approaching. Being arrived at Portsmouth, in order to embark, he was stabbed to the heart in the street by a lieutenant named John Felton, and instantly expired. The assassin was one of those enthusiasts who so often appear in times of political and religious commotion. He considered the duke as an enemy to the country; and this idea, being strongly impressed on his

mind, excited him to commit so daring a crime. The courage which he shewed on this occasion was worthy of a better cause. Although in the crowd and confusion it was not known who had given the blow, he disdained to attempt an escape: he confessed himself to be the assassin: he gloried in his crime: declared that he had acted from motives of conscience without having any adviser or accomplice, and suffered death with the greatest fortitude. Charles was extremely concerned for the death of the duke. The expedition, for the relief of Rochelle, however, was not delayed by this accident; but the skilful measures of cardinal Richelieu rendered it totally ineffectual; and the English fleet returned without being able to render any service to the Hugonots of France.

A. D. 1629. The commons, in the mean while, were employed in debates concerning religion; and the king, in levying the duties, called tonnage and poundage, without the consent of parliament. The warehouse of Mr. Rolls, a respectable merchant and member of the House of Commons, was locked up, and his goods were seized by the king's officers for refusing to pay the said duties; and an information was preferred in the Exchequer and Star-chamber against

several others for the same offence. In consequence of these proceedings, the commons resolved, that whosoever should introduce any innovations in religion, or advise the taking of tonnage and poundage, or voluntarily pay the said duties, should be considered as enemies to the state and betrayers of the liberties of England.

These measures of the commons convincing the king that no money could be expected, he dissolved the parliament. But in freeing himself from this restraint on his conduct, he cut off the source of his supplies. He there-

A. D. 1630. fore concluded a peace with France and Spain, and applied himself wholly to enforce conformity in religion, and to levy money by the royal authority.

William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, was the chief promoter of these arbitrary proceedings, in regard to ecclesiastical matters. A modern reader could not, without a mixture of pity and contempt, peruse the tedious details of the frivolous disputes between protestants in these fanatical times, when the exercise or omission of the most trivial ceremonies was regarded as essential to human salvation. Bigotry and the spirit of party confounded all real and rational distinctions. The puritans considered the prelacy of Eng-

land as a branch of the Romish hierarchy, and regarded arminianism as popery, while a dissent from the church was branded by the court with the name of disaffection to the state. Laud, and the rest of the bishops, seconded and even stimulated the king in a rigorous persecution of the puritans. But the king and the bishops, not satisfied with making every effort for the ruin of presbyterianism in England, resolved to pursue the same measures in Scotland, and to oblige the kirk of that kingdom to adopt the English liturgy. - But while Charles was uselessly employed in regulating the spiritual concerns of his subjects, he found it necessary to turn his attention to things of a temporal nature. Having adopted the resolution to rule without a parliament, he soon discovered the necessity of devising new ways of supplying himself with money. For this purpose various means were invented, such as monopolies, licences of exemption from the injunctions contained in royal proclamations, fines imposed in the Star-chamber, and the arbitrary imposition of taxes, especially of that called ship money.* From this

* In the year 1636 the Dutch were compelled to pay £30,000. to the king, for the liberty of fishing on the British coasts. This produced the two famous treatises entitled "*mare liberum*" and "*mare clausum*," the former by Grotius, the latter by Selden.

tax the king expected a very considerable supply, as the ostensible object was the defence of the kingdom. But England, being then at peace with all the neighbouring nations, was not menaced by any danger that could justify the imposition of such a tax without calling a parliament. The city of London was required to furnish twenty ships, and a tax was imposed for that purpose. The citizens petitioned that the number might be reduced to ten; but the king replied that he could not admit of any excuse. Some, however, refused to pay their share of the tax. The king, therefore, convened all the judges in order to discuss the business, and the result of their deliberations was, that his Majesty might, by his sole authority, whenever he thought proper, levy ship money, and use compulsion towards those who should refuse payment. This determination of the judges was ordered to be registered in the courts of Westminster, and published throughout the kingdom. After these precautions the king thought himself authorized to order the prosecution of those who should refuse to pay ship money. But notwithstanding the decision of the judges, Mr. Hampden, a gentleman of Buckinghamshire, being rated at twenty shillings, refused payment, and

resolved to stand a trial. The case was argued in the Exchequer-chamber before all the judges of England. The ablest counsellors were employed on both sides of the question; but, after a trial of several days, judgment was given against Mr. Hampden, who was condemned to pay the tax.

Charles having thus established his prerogative in regard to the levying of ship money, resolved to carry into execution his project of reducing the church of Scotland to a perfect conformity with that of England. James I. had conceived the design and made some progress in its execution. His accession to the crown of England had increased his influence in the parliament of Scotland, in proportion to the means which it afforded him of dispensing to his Scottish subjects much greater favours than he had been able to grant them in their own country. James, who had an extreme aversion to the presbyterian form of ecclesiastical government, had so successfully employed his credit with the parliament, as to procure the restoration of episcopacy in Scotland; and during the whole space of his reign he had gradually endeavoured to bring the kirk to a perfect conformity with the English church. Charles pursued the same design with greater ardour

and precipitancy. The most difficult task, however, still remained. Although the hierarchy had been re-established by the authority of parliament, it was abhorred by the people, who were enthusiastically attached to the presbyterian form of government which had been established at the time of the reformation. Notwithstanding these unfavourable circumstances, the king and his council resolved to attempt the introduction of the English liturgy into the kirk of Scotland.* This measure excited a great fermentation in Edinburgh, where the people would not suffer the new liturgy to be read in any of the churches. At length these proceedings gave rise to that famous convention by which the Scots bound themselves by a solemn oath to preserve their religion from innovation. Thus the standard of rebellion was erected; and Charles and his council saw how dangerous it was to impose restraints upon conscience. The covenant, like an alarm bell, brought together all the Scots that were disaffected to the government, as well as all the religious enthusiasts. It was signed not only by the people but also by all the great men except the privy counsellors, judges, bishops, and

* Vide Collier's Eccles. Hist. 2. p. 767, &c.

other dignitaries of the church. The royalists, therefore, did not exceed the proportion of one in a thousand, and these were left without any power or authority.

The king was now in a perplexed situation; but although he did not see in what manner he should free himself from these difficulties, he could not resolve to desist from his project. For some time, however, he adopted a temporizing system, and tried to amuse the Scots by promises couched in ambiguous terms, which they answered by positive protestations against all the measures which he had hitherto pursued. At length he threw off the mask. The Scots had long set the royal authority at defiance, and Charles resolved to make use of an English army to reduce them to obedience. But as the court had reason to apprehend that the English might be unwilling to venture their lives in support of the king's authority in Scotland, it was thought necessary to excite them to arms by the dread of an imaginary danger; and for that purpose a report was artfully spread that the Scots were meditating the invasion of England. As the king was resolved not to call a parliament for obtaining supplies, it was necessary to have recourse to some other method. The nobility were there-

April 1st,
A. D. 1639. fore summoned to attend him at York with such a number of horse as they could raise, and the counties were ordered to furnish their quota of men. By these means an army of above twenty-two thousand men was speedily raised. The Scots, in the mean while, were not idle: they began to levy considerable bodies of troops; but they had numerous friends in England and even at court, and on the exertions of these they placed a greater reliance than on the prowess of their army. While every preparation was making for war, a negotiation was opened and a peace was concluded. The king granted the Scots what they required respecting religion; and they in return promised him obedience in civil and temporal matters. The articles of this pacification, however, were couched in ambiguous expressions. By their religion the Scots understood the presbyterian form of ecclesiastical government; but the king considered it only as it had subsisted ever since his father, James I. had restored the episcopacy. The peace, therefore, left the ground of the dispute undecided, and it was easy to see that its object was only to gain time, and that a period would shortly arrive when it would be necessary to explain what was left in obscurity,

A. D. 1640. In the following year, the Scottish parliament and general assembly declared the government of the kirk by bishops unlawful. And a letter, signed by several of the principal nobles, and addressed to the king of France, requesting his assistance, induced Charles to renew the war against the Scots, in order to reduce them to obedience by force. His first care was to raise a numerous army, and to equip a formidable fleet. But as it was impossible to carry on the war without supplies, he saw himself reduced to the disagreeable expedient of calling a parliament. After a series of cavils concerning religion, and the redress of grievances, this parliament was dissolved; and before another was called, the Scots entered England. Having defeated the king's troops on the banks of the Tyne, they entered Newcastle without opposition, and seized the magazine of artillery and stores designed for the use of the royal army. This unexpected event broke all the measures which the king and his council had concerted. The consternation caused by the defeat of the royalists, and the moderation of the Scots, who, notwithstanding the success of their arms, affected to desire an accommodation, inclined the English to peace, and none but the court party approved of a continuation of the war. In these

circumstances, with an army of enemies before him, and a number of malcontents in the kingdom, and even in his own army, the king could not raise supplies in the same manner as he had hitherto practised. He had already bought upon credit all the pepper belonging to the East India merchants, and sold it for ready money. He had also attempted to borrow two hundred thousand pounds of the city of London; and had the mortification of experiencing a denial. But he soon devised the means of revenge. The city having some time before settled a colony at Londonderry, in Ireland, had obtained a royal patent for certain lands in that country. But the Londoners had no sooner refused to lend the king money, than the lord mayor and sheriffs were cited before the Star-chamber to answer the charge of having abused their patent, and usurping more lands than had been granted to the city. On this charge, whether well or ill grounded, the Londoners were condemned to forfeit their patent, and obliged to pay a heavy fine for its renewal. By this violent measure, and by the proceedings in regard to ship-money, the unfortunate monarch made the city of London his enemy, a circumstance of which he afterwards experienced the fatal effects.

After the Scots had taken Newcastle, they presented a humble petition for peace; but, at the same time, they issued manifestos to justify their conduct, and to engage the English in their cause, by insinuating that the liberties of England were equally in danger with those of Scotland. Addresses were also presented by several nobles, as also from the city of London, requesting the king to summon a parliament as the only means of restoring the public tranquillity. Charles now perceived that the calling a parliament was the ardent desire of the nation, as well as a measure rendered necessary by a variety of circumstances. But, in the existing state of affairs, it could scarcely be expected that a House of Commons would be favourable to the court. The impossibility, however, of obtaining supplies by the methods hitherto used, obliged the king to act contrary to his inclination. A parliament was called, and had no sooner met than the commons evidently shewed their intentions. The entrance of the Scots into England gave them a great advantage, by obliging the king to maintain an army which rendered him dependent on parliamentary support.

Nov. 3,
A. D. 1640.

At this juncture, the nation was running into the extreme of fanaticism, and it was not

difficult to perceive that a terrible storm threatened both the church and the state. The two great parties that divided the parliament were the episcopalians and the presbyterians. But among the more rigid presbyterians lay concealed a number of independents, who had long disguised their religious and political sentiments. Most of these were men of great abilities, and of a daring temper, who meditated nothing less than the total subversion of the government, and concealing their real designs till a proper opportunity, improved every occasion to sow dissensions between the king and the parliament, in order to accomplish their project.*

During the space of nearly two years from November 3d, 1640, to the 25th August, 1642, the history of this reign presents nothing but a series of parliamentary debates, popular petitions, and a continued contest between the court and the nation.† In the first session of this parliament, the king was obliged to give his assent to a number of acts for redress of grievances. Among these was an act for triennial parliaments, by which it was ordained that a parliament should as-

* Rapin, 2. p. 351, &c.

† Vide Rush. Coll. vol. 4. and Clarend. vol. 1.

semble every three years, even although the king should neglect to issue a summons. By another, the Star-chamber and high commission court were abolished: the former had long subsisted, and been considered as originating in the ancient laws of the land; but, during the latter reigns, it had become an engine of tyranny: the latter had been established by queen Elizabeth, and was a real court of inquisition.* Had the parliament, therefore, stopped here, the abolition of these two courts would have merited the thanks and applause of posterity.

But the parliament, not contented with limiting the royal authority, resolved to reduce it to an empty name. The views of the presbyterians, however, could not be accomplished without the destruction of the chief of the royal and episcopalian party. Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford, and the celebrated Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, were sent to the Tower on a general charge of endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws of the land, and to introduce popery and arbitrary power. The commons soon after passed a bill of attainder against Strafford, declaring him guilty of high treason, and the lords gave it

* Millar's Hist. View of Eng. Gov. 3. p. 254, 255, &c.

their approbation. But when the royal assent was required, the king found himself in an uneasy situation. He loved the earl of Strafford, and he could not, in conscience, condemn a man who had acted according to his orders, and done nothing but what was agreeable to his maxims of government. The commons, imagining that the king would endeavour to free himself from these difficulties by the dissolution of parliament, a bill was brought in for its continuance. This bill, which enacted that the parliament should not be dissolved, rapidly passed through both houses, and the king found himself under the necessity of giving it his assent. But while Charles thus resigned one of his chief prerogatives, and was under the greatest anxiety on account of the act of attainder against his favourite minister, he was relieved from his embarrassment by a letter from the earl of Strafford himself, requesting that his life might be sacrificed to the public tranquillity. The king, therefore, reasoning on the principle "*Volenti non fit injuria*,"* and overcome by the pressing instances of the parliament, gave his assent to the bill. Two days afterwards the earl of Strafford was executed, and in his

* "*To a willing man there is no injury*," an ancient maxim of the schools.

last moments displayed a Roman fortitude. He was a man of great abilities, and in better times would have met with a better fate. At his trial he displayed an eloquence that shewed him little inferior to the most celebrated orators of antiquity.*

The death of this minister, however, was far from establishing harmony between the king and his subjects. Charles was not only obliged to conclude an inglorious treaty with the Scots, and to grant them all their demands, but had the additional mortification to see the English House of Commons approve of their conduct, and grant them a sum of three hundred thousand pounds as a reward for their irruption into England. The whole kingdom being now in a ferment, the catholics of Ireland seized this opportunity of throwing off the yoke by which they had long been oppressed, and to revenge the injuries which they had suffered. The protestants were

massacred without any distinction
A. D. 1741. of age, sex, or rank, and the parliament endeavoured to fix on Charles the improbable imputation of favouring the rebels, and countenancing these atrocities. In the mean while, the commons of England,

* Melw. 46. Whitelock, 44.

who pretended so great zeal for religion, instead of vigorously supporting their protestant brethren in Ireland, were solely intent on subverting the royal authority and the established church. A variety of acts, all tending to this object, were successively passed, and the king found himself under the necessity of giving his assent. The bishops were not only expelled from the House of Lords, but several of them, on remonstrating against this unconstitutional measure, were accused of treason and sent to the Tower. The parliament also assumed, or at least extorted from the king, the power of chasing his privy council. But this revolutionizing rage was not confined to the parliament. The citizens of London were exasperated against the king; and the commons were encouraged by the populace, who daily surrounded the house and reprobated, with tumultuous cries, the conduct of the court.

The presbyterians, among whom the independents were included, had now obtained a decided ascendancy in the parliament, and a design of overturning the church and the state became visible. In this decline of the royal authority, Charles accelerated his misfortunes by a measure extremely ill-suited to the complexion of the times. He went in person to

the house, and placing himself in the speaker's chair, impeached five of the members of high treason, and required that they should be apprehended. These were the lord Kimbolton, Sir Arthur Hasselrig, Mr. Hampden, Mr. Pym, Mr. Hollis, and Mr. Stroud, who being previously apprized of his intention had made their escape. The king disappointed, perplexed, and not knowing on whom to rely, went next to Guildhall, and made his complaint to the lord mayor and common council of London. But he soon discovered that the city was wholly devoted to the parliament. The commons had already stripped the king of the greatest part of his prerogatives, and his attempt to imprison their members afforded them a pretext for divesting him of the remainder of his authority. They petitioned that the Tower of London, with Hull, Portsmouth, and the fleet, should be put into their hands. The king, after some contest, was brought to a compliance with these demands. But when the commons required that the militia should be placed under their direction for a limited time, the king, resolving not to resign this last remnant of his authority, replied "No not for an hour." Things being now come to a crisis, both parties prepared for war. Charles departed for the north, and made an

unsuccessful attempt to enter Hull, where the parliament had placed Sir John Hotham, as governor. The king being joined by many of the nobility and gentry of Yorkshire and the neighbouring counties, erected his standard at Nottingham. The queen, in the mean while, went to Holland to raise money on the crown jewels, and to provide ammunition and forces. By these means the king soon saw himself at the head of a considerable army. The parliament, in the mean while, was not idle. Its chief resources lay in London, where men and money were raised with astonishing rapidity. The pulpits resounded with inflammatory sermons, which inspired the people with religious and military enthusiasm; and the puritanical preachers were the best recruiters for the parliamentary army. But while both sides prepared for war, they endeavoured to fix on each other the blame of the infraction of peace, and dispersed numerous manifestos in justification of their conduct.

The earl of Essex being appointed general for the parliament, military operations commenced. During the two first campaigns the royal arms were successful. The first general engagement took place at Edgehill, in Warwickshire. Both parties

Oct. 23d,
A. D. 1642.

claimed the victory ; but the advantage was evidently on the side of the king. It has been generally supposed that Charles was guilty of a fatal error in not advancing to London immediately after this action, and that by so decisive a measure he might at once have terminated the war. This conjecture, indeed, appears to be justified by the extreme consternation that pervaded the metropolis on the bare apprehension of his approach.* But the grand misfortune of Charles, during this important contest, seems to have been the overruling influence of counsellors, who were unwilling to make such concessions as might have procured a peace, and incapable of skilfully conducting the war. While London was in the hands of the parliamentarians, and the great source of their strength, it was unreasonable to think of reducing them to subjection by arms. From Edgehill, the king marched towards the south, and made himself master of Reading and Brentford ; but instead of making a bold attempt on the metropolis, the success of which must have depended on the celerity of his operations, his delay afforded the earl of Essex time to approach with his army.

* Clarend. 2. p. 40, 47, 54, &c.

It would be tedious and at this day uninteresting to describe all the battles, the skirmishes and sieges, and the ineffectual negotiations that took place between the two contending parties. In this detail of public calamities, we discover few great strokes either in politics or war. All was a scene of enthusiastic zeal and religious bigotry oppressing and devastating the country. Some counties, towns, and families, declared for the king, others for the parliament. The principal places in the kingdom were alternately captured; and frequently plundered by the contending armies; and as contiguous counties and neighbouring towns were often in the hands of opposite parties, the hostile garrisons ravaged, in a merciless manner, the surrounding country.* At one period of the war; the king had, according to the best computation, about two hundred thousand men in arms, and as the forces of the parliament could not be greatly inferior, England displayed the horrible spectacle of between three and four hundred thousand of her fanatical sons employed in mutual butchery. It is easy to conceive the miseries of the people at

* The royal garrison at Newark extended its ravages as far as Lincoln and Nottingham, which were held by the parliament, and similar scenes were displayed throughout the kingdom.

this calamitous period, of which the recollection may teach posterity to deprecate the evils of civil war, and to set a just value on public tranquillity.

After the battle of Edgehill, the parliament called in the Scots to their assistance. The king, however, was for a considerable time successful. The first disastrous blow which

July 2d, . his army received was at Marston
A. D. 1644. Moor, about six miles from York.

Prince Rupert commanded the royal army, and headed the left wing: the right was commanded by Sir Charles Lucas, with colonel Hurry, and the main body by general Goring. The right wing of the parliamentarians was led by Sir Thomas Fairfax, the left by the earl of Manchester and his lieutenant-general Oliver Cromwell: lord Fairfax and the earl of Leven, who commanded the Scots, were placed in the centre. The accounts of this battle are, as Rapin observes, extremely obscure;* but the result was the total defeat of the royal army, with the loss of four thousand killed, and a great number of wounded and prisoners. This disaster, however, was in part compensated by advantages in different parts of the kingdom. Negotiations for peace

* Rapin, 2. p. 409.

were also commenced, but they terminated without effect. The obstinacy and bigotry of both parties were insuperable obstacles to a pacification. The king considered the church of England as the door of salvation: the parliament esteemed its doctrines abominable and its rites idolatrous. Never did any country exhibit a more disgusting scene of superstition, fanaticism, and intolerance, than England presented at this calamitous period.

The celebrated Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, had lingered almost four years in prison; and it was now resolved to bring him to trial. He was accused of high treason, and the bill for his attainder passed in the House of Commons with only one dissentient voice.* In the House of Lords it met with some opposition, which, however, was at last overruled. The bill having passed both houses, the archbishop was condemned and soon after executed. On the scaffold he behaved with a becoming fortitude, and made a long speech, in which he declared that he had ransacked every corner of his heart, and could not find there one sin that merited death by the known laws of the land. It is evident that his death was predeter-

Jan. 10th.
A. D. 1645.

* Rapin, 2. p. 507.

mined, and the accusation brought against him of intending to restore the catholic religion, appears to have been wholly destitute of foundation. But it is certain that he had been one of the chief advisers of the arbitrary measures which the king had pursued, and particularly of the persecution of the puritans, and the attempt to force the church of Scotland to a conformity to that of England. His counsels had, therefore, contributed, in no small degree, to excite the troubles which convulsed the kingdom. He was well versed in school divinity, and learned in the languages; but his genius was narrow, and his mind was attached to frivolous ceremonies, which he ranked among the essentials of religion. Notwithstanding the calumnies of his enemies, it cannot be doubted that he was a sincere protestant; but it must be confessed, that superstition, bigotry, and intolerance, were distinguishing traits in his character.*

With the fate of this famous prelate, that of the established religion seems to have been united. On the very same day that the lords passed the bill of attainder against the archbishop, the common prayer was abolished.

* Vide Burnet, Rushworth, Tindal's notes, &c.

Thus the church of England was rendered completely presbyterian to the great satisfaction of the Scots, and the leading men of both houses. This was an insurmountable obstacle to the pacification which was then negotiating at Uxbridge; for, besides all the other points of dispute, Charles never could be brought to consent that the church should be without bishops; and it may truly be said, that he sacrificed his crown and his life to the cause of episcopacy.

During the negotiations for peace, Vane, Cromwell, and other leaders of the independents, brought in a bill for excluding all members of the parliament from any command in the army. This bill, which is known by the name of the self-denying ordinance, having passed in both houses, the presbyterian generals, the earls of Essex, Denbigh, and Manchester, surrendered their commissions, and Sir Thomas Fairfax was appointed commander in chief of the army. The new general was a presbyterian; but he suffered himself to be almost wholly directed by Cromwell, who, by his pretended zeal for the cause of religion and liberty, had gained an ascendancy over his mind. It was then resolved to new model the army; and commissioners being appointed by the commons for

that purpose, Cromwell had so much influence in the business that most of the presbyterian officers were dismissed, and their places filled with independents.

A. D. 1645. The negotiations at Uxbridge

being broken off, and the parliamentary army new modelled according to the intentions of Cromwell, the troops took the field, and military operations on both sides displayed a scene of great activity. Omitting a number of inferior transactions, it suffices to say that the fatal battle of Naseby, in Northamptonshire, decided the contest

June 14th, between the king and the parliament. Prince Rupert commanded the right wing of the royal army, Sir Marmaduke Langdale the left, and the king led on the main body.* Sir Jacob Ashley, the earl of Lindsey, lord Bard, and Sir George L'Isle were at the head of the reserve. The right of the parliament's cavalry was commanded by Cromwell, the left by Ireton: Fairfax and Skippon led on the centre. On this fatal day the king displayed an extraordinary courage. His troops, however, were totally dispersed: five thousand were made prisoners, and to

* Rushw. 6. p. 42. Clarendon gives a somewhat different arrangement, 2. 506, &c.

complete his misfortune he lost all his artillery and camp equipage, with his cabinet of secret papers. The parliament owed this victory, in a great measure, to the courage and activity of Cromwell, who having, by a vigorous charge, dispersed the left wing of the king's horse, attacked the infantry in flank, and bore down all opposition.

After this fatal day the war was only a series of disasters on the side of the king, his garrisons surrendered one after another, and he was totally unable to keep the field against his enemies. In this desperate state of his affairs, he adopted the unfortunate expedient of taking refuge with the Scotch army, which was then besieging Newark. It seems that he had received some vague assurances of safety from the principal officers; but it does not appear that the Scotch had entered into any treaty with the king, or that they sold him to the English parliament as it has often been represented. The fact was that they demanded, and after some dispute received, four hundred thousand pounds, the sum due to them for their arrears. This affair being ended, the Scotch returned to their own country. But their parliament had decreed that the king could not be admitted into Scotland, until he had given a satisfactory

answer to certain proposals presented to him in the name of the two kingdoms. He therefore prayed for leave to come to London on the public faith and security of the parliament and the Scotch commissioners, that he should there be treated with respect and honour, that so he might with freedom negotiate with the parliament. The two houses taking his request into consideration, assigned him Holmby house for his residence. And the Scots resigned him to the English commissioners, without being able to foresee the tragedy that was to ensue.

The presbyterian interest had for some time been declining: the independents had gained the ascendancy, and the power which the parliament had wrested from the king was soon transferred to the army. To this the self-denyng ordinance had greatly contributed. Oliver Cromwell had by this masterly piece of policy dissolved the union between the army and the parliament, by excluding the members of both houses from any military command. The civil war being therefore ended, the commons were desirous of disbanding the army, which they began to consider as a dangerous engine. But Cromwell resolved to oppose a design so hostile to his interests. He formed a council of officers,

who were appointed to inquire into the grievances of the army, and to lay them before parliament. A scene of mutual recrimination ensued: negotiations were commenced without effect: every concession of the parliament was productive of new demands from the army. This was the crisis of Cromwell's fortune, and he resolved to seize so favourable an opportunity of laying the foundation of his greatness. The king had hitherto remained in the power of the parliament; but Cromwell resolving to become master of his person, sent to remove him from Holmby castle to Newmarket. It was in vain that the parliament complained of this insolence: the army marched towards London, where all was in a state of confusion. The common council being assembled, ordered the city to be put in a state of defence, and published a manifesto, exposing the hostile intentions of the army. The parliament, in the mean while, was divided into two factions; and the speakers, with sixty-two members, quitted the house, and took refuge with the army; while the others who remained, continued to issue orders without having the power to enforce obedience. But Cromwell, with the two speakers and the fugitive members at the head of the army, soon approached the metropolis. The citizens, notwithstanding their

preparations for resistance, opened their gates, and general Fairfax took possession of the Tower.

During these transactions both the presbyterians and the independents had privately entered into negotiations with the king, who had been removed to Hampton court. But Charles no sooner perceived that the army possessed all the power, than he began to entertain apprehensions for his safety, and attempted to make his escape.* But in this undertaking he was attended by his usual ill fortune, and was obliged to put himself into the hands of the governor of the isle of Wight, who conducted him as a prisoner to Carisbrook castle, where he was treated with an appearance of respect.

Cromwell, who, by his influence over the army, was now becoming all powerful, was in danger of seeing all his projects frustrated by a spirit of insubordination to which he himself had, for some time, given encouragement. There had been, for a short period, a new faction in the army called Levellers, whose object it was to abolish all distinctions, and to establish a perfect equality in rank and estates throughout the kingdom. During the contest between the army and the parlia-

* Ludlow, 1. p. 237.

ment, the general officers had encouraged these men, and allowed them to form a separate council by means of their delegates, which were called Agitators. But as soon as the parliament was subdued, it was thought necessary to suppress these assemblies. The soldiers, however, continued their assemblies in spite of their officers and in defiance to the orders of their general. They even pretended to the right of settling the government, and drew up a plan for that purpose. The general officers, therefore, were not a little embarrassed. But Cromwell undertook, at the hazard of his life, to free himself from a faction so dangerous in an army. Taking a chosen guard, he came unexpectedly to their assembly, and asking some questions to which they gave insolent answers, he laid two or three of them on the ground with his own hand; and the guards, by a sudden charge, dispersing the rest, many of them were taken, some of whom were hanged on the spot, and sent others prisoners to London. By a repetition of such encounters, he soon subdued those daring men, whom his own example had taught to set all established authority at defiance.*

* Rapin, 2. p. 541.

While the king was at Hampton court, he had privately treated with the presbyterians, the independents, and the Scots. It would be tedious to detail the particulars of those ineffectual negotiations.* The parliament, the city of London, and the whole kingdom, were agitated by factions, and divided into parties, whose measures were continually fluctuating; and the king was bewildered in the labyrinth of uncertainty, while Cromwell and the army had only one object in view. All England was now in such a state of confusion that the most profound politician could form no conjecture of the result of these convulsions.

The confinement of the king in Carisbrook castle did not put an end to the negotiations; and at length the Scots, who clearly perceived the views of the independents, raised an army for the purpose of restoring him to his throne. Charles now saw his affairs begin to have a more favourable aspect, but his hopes were soon disappointed. The Scotch having entered England, Cromwell took the field with his veteran army. Success seemed to second all his designs. He defeated their forces, and took their general, the duke

* See them in Clarend. vol. 3. Rushworth, vol. 7, &c.

of Hamilton prisoner. Fairfax was equally successful in reducing the royalists of Kent and Essex, and having laid siege to Colchester, which had declared for the king, he compelled that city to surrender at discretion.

The parliament now was extremely desirous of coming to an agreement with the king, as the only means of counteracting the views of the generals. But it was too late: the victorious army returned, and with furious remonstrances demanded justice on the unfortunate monarch, whom they accused of being the author of all the calamities that had afflicted the country. General Fairfax, influenced by Cromwell, removed the royal prisoner from Carisbrook to Hurst castle. The parliament remonstrated against this proceeding, and began to issue orders for a more effectual opposition. But on receiving a message from Cromwell, intimating that he intended to pay them a visit the next day with his army, and requiring them, at the same time, to raise him forty thousand pounds in the city of London, they were terrified into a compliance with his demand. The general advanced with his army and took up his quarters in the skirts of the city. He then placed a guard at the parliament house, and seized those members whom he thought

hostile to his designs. Colonel Pride, one of his officers, took forty-one of them into custody. On the following day a hundred more of the members were denied entrance into the house. That part of the house which now remained, was composed of a small number of independents, who voted according to the dictates of the general, and were distinguished by the ludicrous name of the Rump. Thus did the presbyterians, who had overturned the church and the throne, fall victims to the military power which they had used as the instrument for accomplishing their designs.

The Rump parliament was nothing more than a tool in the hands of the army, the officers of which directed all its proceedings. In this obscure assembly it was therefore unanimously resolved to erect a high court of justice, with power to try the king for treason against the state. For form's sake the commons desired the concurrence of the few lords that remained in the other house, but here there was virtue enough left to reject the proposal. The commons, however, being sure of the support of the army, voted the assent of the lords unnecessary. A hundred and forty-five persons were appointed judges on this lamentable occasion, and Bradshaw,

a lawyer, was elected president of this seditious assembly.

On the day appointed the king was brought to Westminster Hall to take his trial. The charge against him was read, importing that he had been the author of the war and the cause of all the blood that had been shed; but no attempt was made to prove this assertion. Whatever had been his misconduct, he displayed, on this trying occasion, a dignity of mind and character worthy of a monarch. He demanded by what authority he was brought to such a trial, to which Bradshaw, the president, replied, that it was by an ordinance of the commons of England. The king then objected to the legality of the tribunal, and refused to plead. He was then remanded to prison. Being brought up a second time he made the same objections, and began to give his reasons, but the court would not hear him on that subject. After being four times brought before this unconstitutional tribunal, and constantly refusing to acknowledge its authority, his judges declared him guilty, and condemned him to death. On this melancholy subject it will not be amiss to remark, that the House of Commons was under the absolute control of the army, and even had not this been the case, the

commons alone, without the concurrence of the lords and the king, had never been considered as the legislature of England. In the next place it could never be proved that the king was the sole author of the war. In the long series of contests, by which it was preceded, it is evident that all parties went so far beyond their due bounds as to render it impossible, to impartial judges, to attach the blame of aggression exclusively on either. The king, in the former part of his reign, had attempted to rule in an arbitrary manner, but before the actual commencement of hostilities he had desisted from his pretensions. The parliament suspecting his sincerity resolved to divest him of the authority allowed him by the constitution. When Charles had recourse to arms it was not in maintenance of arbitrary power but of his legal prerogative. He could not, therefore, be considered as the sole author of a war which was occasioned by mutual encroachments and jealousies. It may be further observed, that Charles was only suspected of designing to alter the constitution and religion of his country ; but that revolution was actually effected by the parliament. From all these considerations it must appear, to an impartial posterity, that however censurable

the conduct of Charles might have been, the court, by which he was condemned, was illegal, and his execution a real murder.

On the third day after his sentence, Charles was brought to the place of execution. The scaffold was erected in the street opposite to Whitehall, and two men in masks were employed as executioners. The unfortunate monarch surveyed the solemn preparations with a calm composure, that shewed him free from any reproaches of conscience; and, on the scaffold, he declared that he thought himself guilty of no crime, except that of delivering the earl of Strafford to the malice of his enemies. The bishop by whom he was attended reminding him that he had only one stage more to heaven, "I go," replied the king, "from a temporal to an eternal crown, where no disturbance can happen." Having laid his head on the block, one of the masked executioners severed it from his
Jan. 30th,
A. D. 1649. body at one blow: the other holding it up, exclaimed "behold the head of a traitor." Thus died with a christian composure and fortitude the unfortunate Charles I. a victim to fanaticism and rebellion, exhibiting the first instance recorded in the history of modern Europe of a sovereign prince condemned to death by a formal tribunal of his subjects.

Amidst the jarring of parties and the influence of prejudice, it cannot be a matter of wonder that the character of Charles has been variously depicted. If the parties that convulsed the state and brought him to the scaffold had expired with him, we might have met with an impartial history of his reign; but as all the writers of those times were evidently prejudiced in favour either of the royal or republican cause, we cannot expect any just delineation. The extravagant encomiums which his panegyrists have lavished on his character, and the calumnies with which it has been aspersed by his enemies, are to be equally suspected. That he was endowed with many virtues is universally allowed, and he possessed some brilliant accomplishments. He was pious, sober, temperate, and conscientiously just. In the relations of private life he possessed many excellent qualities: he was a good father, an indulgent husband, and a kind master. He abhorred all debauchery, and could not bear any obscene or profane discourse. His courage cannot be questioned; but it must be confessed that his firmness was tinged with obstinacy. In regard to literature his attainments were considerable: he spoke several languages well: his sense was strong, but

his stile was laconic.* His skill in the liberal arts, especially architecture, painting, and sculpture, was far above mediocrity, and he had formed a finer collection of pictures, statues, &c. than any prince of his time.† Charles is generally represented as a most pious and religious prince: he was punctual and regular in his devotions both public and private; but his religion was strongly tainted with bigotry. He has been represented by some as strongly inclined to the Roman catholic religion, and even accused of having formed the design of restoring it in England; but this is an evident calumny invented by his fanatical enemies. It is true that during the first fifteen years of his reign, the catholics were not only screened from the rigour of the law, but placed in offices of honour, trust, and emolument. This encouragement was owing to the influence of the queen, and to the aid which he hoped to derive from the catholics in the execution of his projects. He has also been accused of exciting the Irish rebellion, but of the truth

* Welw. Mem. p. 67, 68, &c. Charles had a comely presence—a sweet, but grave and melancholy aspect: his features were regular and handsome; and although he was of a low stature, his body was strong, and his constitution robust, and capable of bearing the greatest fatigues. Welwood, *ibid.*

† Welw. Mem. *ub supra.*

of this charge there was never either proof or probability ; and if in the desperate state of his affairs he sought aid from the insurgents, he was driven to that extremity by the revolt of his English subjects. It is certain that on several important occasions he was privately assisted by the catholics, and that during the civil wars, he entertained many of them in his service ; but that is no proof of his attachment to their religion.. On the contrary, he appears to have been a sincere protestant, and such he professed himself in his last moments when dissimulation could not be of any service. But that sincerity by which he was distinguished in matters of religion was not equally conspicuous in his political transactions : He so frequently made use of mental reservations, concealed in ambiguous expressions, of which he reserved to himself the explication, that the parliament could never confide in his promises, and this may be considered as one of the causes of his ruin. This dissimulation and equivocating conduct may admit of some excuse, from his difficult situation in the midst of contending parties, and his multiplied embarrassments, arising from the factious spirit of his subjects. The great misfortune of Charles was that of having by his education imbibed maxims of govern-

ment, repugnant to the genius of his people. Presuming on the precedents of former times, without considering the change of circumstances, he precipitated himself into an abyss, which he might long have seen opening under his feet.

The reign of Charles I. was the age of fanaticism, a daemon which at that unhappy period tyrannized over the minds of the English, extending its influence from the prince to the peasant, and producing a direful train of civil dissensions. While one party seemed to regard a variety of unimportant minutiae and nonessentials as the constituents of religion, the other condemned things, merely indifferent, as sinful, idolatrous, and damnable. Thus was the worship of the deity made to consist in the admission or exclusion of certain ceremonial forms and hierarchic regulations; and the kingdom exhibited a scene of bigotry, fanaticism, and intolerance, incompatible with christian charity, and disgraceful to the protestant religion. Such a period could not be favourable to the advancement of letters, of arts, or of commerce. All these, however, had flourished during the former part of this reign. But the discovery of America had excited a spirit of mercantile enterprise throughout Europe,

which nothing could ever extinguish; and the impulse which had been communicated to England in the reign of Elizabeth, had, under the peaceful administration of James, acquired additional strength. Before the commencement of the civil war, the commerce of England had increased with astonishing rapidity: in the year 1641, the customs are said to have amounted to the annual sum of £500,000. being nearly trebled since the accession of Charles to the throne.* The increase of wealth had encouraged the arts. Painting† and sculpture had received great improvement; and the genius of Inigo Jones, and others, had introduced architectural elegance into the metropolis, which was greatly enlarged and embellished in the former part of this reign.†

* This was a prodigious increase since the reign of Elizabeth. Vide Anderson. Hist. Comm. 2. p. 389, 391. As a convincing proof that the trade and wealth of England must at this period have been very considerable, it suffices to observe that between the years 1641 and 1647, the parliament had raised upwards of forty millions sterling, for the support of the war, besides the sums which the king had levied in those parts of the kingdom where his interest predominated. Vide Anderson's Hist. Comm. 2. p. 406. Campb. Polit. Surv. 2. p. 533.

† In this reign James's-street, King's-street, Charles-street, Henrietta-street, and others in the vicinity of Covent-Garden, were laid out by Inigo Jones, and the Piazza, as well as the Banqueting-house, Whitehall, and some other structures, were the work of that celebrated architect. Clare Market, Long Acre, Bedford, Bury, &c. were in this reign first covered with buildings.

CHARLES II.



ON the day of the king's execution, the parliament passed an act which forbade the proclaiming of his eldest son Charles, or any other person whatever, under the penalty of high treason. The commons then voted the House of Lords unnecessary and dangerous, and decreed its abolition. Several of the peers protested against this unprecedented innovation, but their remonstrances met with no attention. Thus the parliament which was formerly composed of a hundred and twenty lords, and five hundred and thirteen commons, was reduced to one house, composed of about eighty members, who styled themselves the representatives of the people of England. This assembly, which was only the tool of the army, passed an act March 17th, A. D. 1649. for the abolition of the regal office, and the establishment of a republic under the sole direction of a House of Commons.

The government of England being thus changed from a monarchy to a republic, the

democratical parliament proceeded to try some distinguished prisoners, who had been the most zealous and powerful supporters of royalty. A high court of justice was erected for that purpose; and the duke of Hamilton, the lord Capel, and several others, being brought before this new tribunal, were condemned and executed. The Scots were extremely exasperated at these proceedings against the duke, whose death was contrary both to the laws of war and the laws of nations: they therefore determined to acknowledge the young prince of Wales for their king. They resolved, however, to abridge his power by the same limitations as they had imposed on their late sovereign; and commissions being dispatched to Breda, where the prince then resided, laid before him the conditions on which the Scots offered him the crown. Charles was extremely unwilling to receive a kingdom without the authority of a king; and the pretensions of the Scots were so contrary to his notions of the royal prerogative, that he shewed the greatest indifference to their proposals; and a considerable space of time was consumed in negotiations.

During these transactions the parliament of England turned its attention towards

Ireland, where it was apprehended that Charles would erect his standard. The treaty which his father, Charles I. had concluded with the rebels, still subsisted, and the Irish refused to acknowledge the authority of the English republic. It was therefore resolved to send a strong army into Ireland; and the command was given to Cromwell, with the title of lord lieutenant of that kingdom. The progress of Cromwell in Ireland was exceedingly rapid; but the success of his arms was tarnished by his cruelty. Having taken Drogheda by assault, he put all the garrison to the sword: after the capture of that important place, he seized Kilkenny, and reduced the greatest part of the country to the obedience of the English parliament.

The state of affairs in Ireland hastened the conclusion of the treaty at Breda. Charles had shewed great unwillingness to accept the crown under such limitations as the Scotch were determined to impose. Even while the negotiations were pending, he gave a commission to the marquis of Montrose, who attempted to put him in possession of the kingdom by force. The marquis having raised some forces made a descent upon Scotland. But his army was too small to make

any progress. He was joined by only a few ill armed and worse disciplined highlanders, who fled on the appearance of the troops which the Scotch parliament had sent to repel the invasion: his foreign troops stood their ground but were routed; and the marquis, himself, having with difficulty escaped from the field, wandered about some time in the disguise of a peasant; but at length a gentleman, who pretended to be his friend, betrayed him into the hands of general Lesley, who sent him to Edinburgh, where he was tried and condemned by the parliament. He met his fate with great fortitude; and at the place of execution declared himself fully persuaded of the justice of his cause. He was hanged on a gallows thirty feet high; his head was placed on the Toll-booth at Edinburgh: his arms and legs were sent to four different towns; and his body was buried under the gallows. Thus perished the marquis of Montrose, who, during the civil wars, had distinguished himself by his courage and loyalty.

Charles, seeing all his hopes of conquering Scotland disconcerted, had no other alternative than to accept the crown of that kingdom, with all the limitations imposed on the royal authority. Ireland being nearly re-

daced, he could expect no support from that quarter : the states of the united provinces dreading a rupture with the new republic, were desirous of his departure from their dominions ; and he knew too well the political maxims of cardinal Mazarin to suppose that the court of France would prefer the alliance of an expatriated prince to that of the English parliament. He therefore agreed to the terms proposed by the Scotch commissioners, and on his arrival in Scotland, signed the covenant according to the promise extorted from him at Breda. It is certain, however, that Charles submitted to these conditions only through imperious necessity ; and his subsequent conduct makes it appear that he never intended to be bound by parchment chains any longer than while the same necessity existed. On his arrival in Scotland, he found nothing that could make him in love with his fetters : he saw himself in a situation which was far from corresponding with his ideas of royalty. His English friends and domestics were immediately removed from his person, and he saw himself surrounded only by men, whose political and religious principles were entirely different from those in which he had been educated. His promise and oath to profess presbyterian-

ism, exposed him to the importunity of the ministers, who undertook to instruct him in their religion, and did not scruple to brand the tenets of the church of England with the name of "doctrines of devils."* In one day they obliged him to attend at six sermons successively; and it appears that this rigorous discipline of the kirk, greatly contributed to inspire the king with a rooted aversion, not only against presbyterianism, but against every appearance of strictness in religion.†

Charles had accepted the regal title in Scotland, only in the view of facilitating his accession to the throne of England. Of this the English parliament was aware, and judging it much better policy to carry the war into Scotland than to expect it in England, Cromwell was recalled from Ireland to take the command of the army, which Fairfax resigned, and received an annual pension of five thousand pounds, in reward for his services. Cromwell being now declared generalissimo of the armies of the English republic, marched towards the frontiers of Scotland. Having entered that kingdom without opposition, he advanced within sight of the Scotch army, which was encamped near Edinburgh;

* Rapin, 2. p. 581, 582.

† Burnet, 1. p. 53.

but finding the intrenchments of the enemy too strong to warrant an attack, the want of provisions and forage obliged him to retire. He then proceeded to Dunbar, where he intended to embark his infantry and return into England. The Scotch general pursued him, and being instigated by the presbyterian ministers, who, as if by divine revelation, promised an easy victory, resolved to hazard an action. Cromwell, on seeing the approach of the Scots, cried out, that "God had delivered them into his hands." He immediately went to prayer, and then told his officers that he felt such composure of mind as did not permit him to doubt of the victory. Whether this was enthusiasm or artifice, it served to inspire his fanatical soldiers with courage; and the general did not prove a false prophet. An hour before day the next morning he attacked the enemy, whose numbers were greatly superior, and gained a decisive victory. The Scots had

Sept. 3rd,
A. D. 1650. between five and six thousand killed, besides several thousands of prisoners, and the loss of twenty-seven pieces of cannon.* The loss of the English is said to have been inconsiderable. This victory put

* Clarend. 3. p. 294.—Rapin 2. p. 583.

Cromwell in possession of Leith and Edinburgh, while the Scots, who were divided into factions, found no small difficulty in raising a new army for the ensuing spring.

The diligence employed in the preparations, however, was such that the king opened the campaign at the head of eighteen thousand men. Cromwell was extremely distressed for want of provisions; and a great part of the summer elapsed without any affair of importance. Charles at length resolved to march into England, expecting that his army would be greatly increased by the junction of the royalists and the presbyterians, who were equally oppressed by the independent parliament. His hopes, however, were disappointed. He began a rapid march to Carlisle, where he was proclaimed king of England. But the parliament, on receiving intelligence of this irruption, armed the militia in every part of the kingdom, and placed guards on all the public roads to prevent the king's friends from joining his army. Cromwell, at the same time, began his march into England, in order to prevent the king from advancing to London. Charles expecting that the people of the western counties would readily join his standard, proceeded by rapid marches to Worcester, where he was

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honourably received and immediately proclaimed; but instead of seeing his army augmented, by the accession of friends, he found it reduced by desertion to the number of twelve or thirteen thousand; and the anxiety caused by this diminution of his force, was soon increased by the sudden approach of Cromwell.

On the anniversary of the victory of Dunbar, a day fortunate for Cromwell, was fought <sup>Sept. 3rd,
A. D. 1651.</sup> the decisive battle at Worcester, which raised his power beyond all control or limitation. After an engagement of some hours on both sides of the Severn, the king's forces were obliged to retire into the town in such confusion that they neglected to defend the entrance. The cavalry, seeing the parliamentarians burst into the town, took to flight, and left the infantry to their mercy. The king, after attempting in vain to rally his troops, escaped with great difficulty: almost all his foot were killed or taken: the cavalry, being quickly pursued, were totally dispersed: the duke of Hamilton was mortally wounded: three thousand of the royal army were killed, and ten thousand were taken prisoners:* among the latter were three Eng-

* Whitelock, p. 508. This statement of the king's loss must be a mistake if his whole army was only 12,000 or 13,000.

lish earls, seven Scotch lords, six hundred and forty colonels and other officers.

The king, though he had fortunately escaped from this disastrous and sanguinary scene, was in a situation surrounded with all the difficulties that imagination itself can conceive. The army, on which all his hopes had depended, was defeated, dispersed, and even annihilated. He saw himself shut up in the middle of England, a hostile country, from which an escape appeared impracticable. An attempt to reach Scotland was pregnant with extreme danger, as all the roads would be diligently watched; and the parliamentarians being also victorious in that kingdom, the danger there would not have been less than in England. During the first night he proceeded as far as possible, and then dismissing his attendants, he placed himself under the care of a trusty guide, and, in the disguise of a peasant, travelled by the least frequented roads. The story of his concealing himself a whole day in the top of a tree is universally known: in that precarious situation he saw and heard people as they passed by talking of him, and expressing a wish that he might fall into their hands. His constant practice was to travel only in the night, and to pass the day in obscure cottages where he

was unknown, and where his food was generally a little coarse bread and milk. At length, after two months of extreme danger, and almost incredible fatigue, having traversed a considerable part of the kingdom from Worcester to the coast of Sussex, he reached Brighthelmstone,* and embarking on board of a fishing boat, safely arrived in Normandy, after a series of adventures equal to any that embellish the pages of poetry or romance.†

This attempt to make himself master of England was a desperate game, in which Charles had staked his all, as the consequences of its failure could scarcely be less than the subjugation of Scotland. General Monk, whom Cromwell had left to carry on the war in that kingdom, was every where successful. Having besieged and taken Sterling and Dundee, the capture of these two important places was followed by that of Aberdeen, St. Andrew's, and all the other towns and fortresses; and soon after the battle of Worcester the whole of Scotland was reduced to the obedience of the English parliament, and united to the republic.

* Brighthelmstone, which, from its pleasant and salubrious situation, has become a favourite summer residence of the royal family, and many of the chief nobility, was then only a small fishing village.

† For a circumstantial relation of the king's adventures. Vide Clarend. 3. p. 320, &c.

The victory of Worcester, with the subjugation of Scotland, gave such reputation and influence to the new republic, that every state of Europe either courted its friendship or dreaded its arms. Tranquillity was restored at home, and the independents completely victorious had modelled the government according to their desire. The royalists, although they yet formed a numerous party, could not endanger the republic without the assistance of foreign powers. But the parliament knew that neither France nor Spain designed to attempt the restoration of Charles; and even if such had been their intention, their naval forces could not withstand those of England. The republic of the united provinces was the only power from which the parliament apprehended any danger. It was, therefore judged expedient to propose to the states not only an alliance but such an union as might render the Dutch and the English but one indivisible commonwealth.* The proposal, however, was rejected, and the English envoys, having been insulted by the rabble at the Hague, gave such an account of the negotiation as confirmed the parliament

* These negotiations took place some months previous to the battle of Worcester. Rapin 2. p. 586.

in their suspieion, that the states only waited a fair opportunity to espouse the interests of Charles. This report of the envoys extremely exasperated the parliament; but it was necessary to dissemble till the war with Scotland should be brought to a conclusion.

After the royalists were completely subdued, and England and Scotland united in one commonwealth, there was little probability that the states would think of attempting the king's restoration. The parliament, however, had, through resentment, or some other motive, resolved on a war with the Dutch, and the most distant pretexts, such as the injuries done to the English thirty years before at Amboyna, and in other parts of the east, were used to justify the meditated hostilities. But the strong desire shewn by the parliament to begin a war on such remote pretences, seem to indicate the existence of some secret motive. The subversion of the monarchy had hitherto tended only to the aggrandizement of Cromwell. Being commander in chief of the armies, he was master of the resolutions of parliament: no one durst openly oppose him; and, with the title of general, he was in effect the head of the republic. It is therefore more than probable that some of the members of parliament might

project a naval war in the expectation that the expences, with which it must be attended, would afford an excellent pretext for gradually reducing the army, and diminishing the influence of the general. Cromwell, however, seems not to have suspected any such motive, and readily consented to the project of humbling the Dutch, the only nation that was considered as formidable to the English republic. This system of politics gave rise to the famous navigation act, which, by prohibiting the importation of all foreign merchandise, except in English bottoms, or in those of the country which produces the commodities,* has proved the source of that naval superiority, which has long been possessed by this kingdom, and must be regarded as one of the most important transactions in the annals of British legislature. Before the passing of this act the English merchants usually employed Dutch vessels in importing and exporting their merchandise,

* The substance of this act was "That no merchandise, either of Africa, Asia, or America, including our own plantations, shall be imported into England in any but English built ships, belonging to English subjects, and navigated by an English captain, with three-fourths, at least, of the sailors consisting of Englishmen, excepting, however, such merchandise as shall be imported directly from the place of its growth or manufacture in Europe only. Moreover, that no fish shall be imported or exported, not even from one of our home ports to another, but what shall have been caught by our own fishermen."

because the Dutch freightage was cheaper than that of the English. This was even practised in bringing home the produce of our own colonies; and the English mariners, from the want of employment at home, were obliged to go into the service of the Hollanders. The navigation act, therefore, destroyed all the trade of Holland with England, as it consisted almost entirely of freightage, and occasioned the famous naval war between the two most powerful republics that the world had ever seen since those of Carthage and Rome.

The united states readily perceived that this act of the English parliament was a fatal blow to their commercial interests and maritime strength, and sent an embassy to London to solicit its revocation. But it was soon perceived that the parliament had determined on a rupture. The states, therefore, without further hesitation, equipped a fleet of a hundred and fifty sail; and their admiral, Martin Van Tromp, with forty-five ships of war, made his appearance in the channel. The contest between the two republics soon commenced, and was carried on with extraordinary vigour. In the space of little more than a year, seven bloody naval engagements took place with various success. The last of

Feb. 18, 19, ^{and 20.} these continued three days, and the
A. D. 1653. English being greatly superior in
force, the Dutch were the greatest sufferers;
but the confused and contradictory accounts
of historians seem to indicate that neither side
could boast of the victory.*

While the fleets of the two republics were
contending for the rule of the ocean, Crom-
well was raising himself to the sovereign
authority in England. He at length per-
ceived the device of his enemies, who supposed
that the expence of a naval war would afford
an incontrovertible pretext for disbanding an
army which was now become useless. Crom-
well, who knew that if the army were dis-
banded his ruin would be certain, instigated
the officers to petition the parliament for the
arrears of their pay. This petition was,
according to Cromwell's expectation, rejected,
and the parliament ordered the officers to be
reprimanded for their presumption. The
army, however, presented another petition,
requesting the parliament to dissolve itself,
and to summon a new parliament. No
measure, indeed, could have been more con-
formable to the sentiments of the nation. On
being discussed in the house, the motion was

* See Tindal's notes on Rapin, 9. p. 588.

negated by a considerable majority, and at the same time a committee was appointed to prepare a bill for declaring all persons who should present such petitions guilty of high treason.

All this was precisely what Cromwell desired and expected. He knew that this parliament, which had sat more than twelve years, was odious to the people, and he had succeeded in sowing dissension between it and the army. Having therefore concerted his plan with the principal officers, he came to the house with a band of soldiers, April 30th, A.D. 1653. and, without ceremony, commanded the speaker to leave the chair. He then told the members that "they had sat there long enough, unless they had done more good; that some of them were whoremongers, others were drunkards, that some of them were corrupt and unjust, and scandalous professors of the gospel," and ordered them to depart. The intimidated members immediately obeyed; and Cromwell ordering one of his soldiers to take away that fool's bauble, the mace, locked the door. He then published a declaration to justify so violent a measure. This declaration was signed by all the colonels of the army, and all the sea captains; and as his designs were yet concealed, his proceedings,

in regard to the parliament, met with universal approbation.

Cromwell might from this moment have assumed the administration of the government; but his design was that it should be placed in his hands by a parliament, in order to sanction his usurpation by so venerable an authority. He caused the council of officers to decree that a parliament of a hundred and forty-four members should be called, and these not to be elected by the people, but chosen by the general. In the choice of these persons, he displayed his sagacity in forming his plans: most of them were men of mean birth, illiterate, and inexperienced in political affairs. Among these members was Barebone, a leather-seller, who being one of the principal speakers, this assembly obtained the name of Barebone's parliament.* Cromwell clearly foresaw that the incapacity and unpopularity of such an assembly would oblige its members to put the government into his hands; and his expectation was not disappointed. After a session of more than five months, this shadow of a parliament resigned the supreme authority into the hands of Cromwell and the council of officers from

* Whitelock, however, intimates that there were among them many gentlemen of fortune, and not deficient in knowledge. P. 559.

whom it had been received. It is evident, indeed, that this was the design for which it was called. Two days after this transaction, the council of officers, by virtue of the authority given them by parliament, decreed that the government of the republic should reside in a single person, namely, Oliver Cromwell, captain-general of the armies of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and that he should have the title of protector, and be assisted by a council of twenty-one members. He was then conducted with great pomp to Whitehall: Lambert carried before him the sword of state, the title of highness was given him, and he was immediately proclaimed lord protector in London and the other cities of the three kingdoms. Thus Cromwell, a private gentleman, whose birth seemed to have placed him at an infinite distance from sovereignty, was, by a series of favourable contingencies raised to the supreme authority, and became possessed of a power which placed him on an equality with the greatest monarchs of Europe.

During these transactions in England, the civil war in Ireland produced a revolution in the population and property of that kingdom, which has considerably affected its subsequent state. The conquest of that country

had been almost completed by Cromwell, when he was recalled by the parliament to conduct the war in Scotland. On his departure from Ireland, in 1650, he left the command to his son-in-law, general Ireton, whom he appointed his deputy. Ireton dying the next year of the plague, the parliament gave the command of the forces in that country to general Edmund Ludlow, a rigid republican, and one of the judges who had condemned the late king. These two commanders retaliated on the Irish the barbarities which they had exercised on the English, and at length entirely reduced them to subjection. But, in order to rid the country as much as possible of these turbulent spirits, they pursued the same measures that Cromwell had first adopted. That general, in order to break the force of the Irish rebels, published a permission to their officers and men to enter into the service of foreign princes, with a promise not to offer them any molestation. By this expedient, Cromwell found means to send above forty thousand of his enemies out of the kingdom.* And from that time to the entire reduction of the Irish, it is supposed that about a hundred thousand of these

* Clarend. vol. 3. p. 280.

desperadoes were thus permitted to leave the country. Most of the families that remained were removed into Connaught, where some lands were assigned them for their subsistence. The rest of the confiscated lands were divided among the adventurers who had supplied money for the war, or given to the officers and soldiers in payment of their arrears, or sold for the use of the parliament. Thus was Ireland in some degree anglicised, and united with England and Scotland in one commonwealth, about the same time that Cromwell obtained the supreme power, with the title of protector.

THE COMMONWEALTH.

THE first important measure that marked the administration of Cromwell, was the termination of the Dutch war, which had been carried on with great animosity, and had proved extremely destructive to both nations. Notwithstanding the short time of its continuance, the two provinces of Holland and Zealand are said to have lost fifteen hundred

of their ships, and it is certain that they had suffered more in their commerce and maritime strength than the English. A treaty of peace was therefore concluded on April 5th, A. D. 1654. terms extremely advantageous to England. Thus the war, which had, in all probability, been undertaken for the purpose of ruining Cromwell, only contributed to heighten his power and reputation.

The protector now seeing himself at peace with his neighbours, had nothing to attract his attention but the internal affairs of the state. On being advanced to his new dignity, he had signed an agreement denominated the "instrument of government," in which he had bound himself to call a parliament every three years, and not to dissolve it till it had sate the space of three months. The 3d day of September, 1654, was, by that instrument, appointed for the time of assembling his first parliament, and Cromwell issued his writs for that purpose. It had been provided by the "instrument of government," that the number of representatives should be proportioned to the size of the boroughs and counties, and to their respective shares of the public expences,* and that the whole house should not consist

* Whitelock, p. 552. Clarend. 3. p. 397.

of more than four hundred and sixty members; viz. four hundred for England and Wales, thirty for Scotland, and thirty for Ireland. But the writs issued by the protector contained an express order that none of the persons who had borne arms for the king, nor even their sons, should be elected as representatives.

Cromwell expected that this parliament, from which the royalists were so carefully excluded, would confirm his protectoral dignity. But it soon appeared that many of the members were rigid republicans, who were no sooner assembled than they began to examine the legality of his authority. In order, therefore, to prevent a further discussion of so delicate a subject, the protector sent for the members to the painted chamber, and reprimanded them for their presumption. On their return to the house, they found a guard placed at the door, and entrance refused to all who would not sign an engagement to "be faithful to the lord protector and the government as established in one single person, and a parliament." Many refusing to sign this engagement, were excluded the house; and a still greater number of those who consented, soon shewed that their compliance was only for the purpose of more easily effecting his ruin. A

plot was formed by the royalists, with the concurrence of many of the members of parliament, to excite an insurrection, and to raise armies in different parts of the country. But Cromwell being informed by his spies, prevented the designs of his enemies by dissolving the parliament some days before the time fixed by the "instrument of government." At the dissolution he told the members that he was not ignorant of their projects. These, indeed, were ready to be carried into execution; but, through the vigilance of the protector, the attempts of his enemies were soon rendered abortive.

Although Cromwell had been so ready to conclude a peace with the Dutch, he plunged the commonwealth into a war with Spain. This measure, considered in a national point of view, was extremely impolitic, as Spain was now a declining empire, incapable of exciting any just apprehensions, and her further depression could not fail of contributing to the aggrandizement of France, whose rising power was far more to be dreaded by England. As Cromwell had no reasons of a public nature, nor even any pretext sufficient to justify a rupture with Spain, his conduct may, with great probability of conjecture, be attributed to motives

arising from his personal interests. As the people are always dazzled by great achievements, he might deem it requisite to add to the state some splendid acquisition, in order to remove the odium of his usurpation ; and as Spain was already weak and exhausted, he might justly imagine that her rich and extensive dominions, presenting many vulnerable points of attack, would afford him the means of making some conquests that would throw lustre on his protectorate, and convince the English that his advancement was conducive to the power and glory of the republic. These ideas, indeed, are said to have been suggested by Thomas Gage, who had been a catholic priest, and having lived many years in Mexico and other parts of Spanish America, informed Cromwell of the defenceless state of those distant colonies.* And it is supposed by some historians, that the principal view of the protector in undertaking this war, was to obtain, by plundering the Spaniards, a supply of gold, which might enable him to carry on his designs in England without depending on parliaments for money.†

The protector, without any declaration of war, sent a fleet of thirty ships, with nine or

* Burnet, p. 74.

† Welwood, p. 100.

ten thousand land forces,* under the command of Penn and Venables, to attack St. Domingo, the capital of the island of Hispaniola. But Venables having, contrary to his instructions, landed his troops at too great a distance, they were so fatigued by a long march in that hot climate, and so exhausted by hunger and thirst, that on their approach to the city they were easily repulsed, and compelled to re-embark with considerable loss. On the failure of this attempt, however, the English commanders proceeded to Jamaica, and, with little opposition, seized on that valuable island, which has ever since remained an appendage to the crown of Great Britain. In the following year, the admirals Blake and Montague, cruizing off A. D. 1656. Cadiz, fell in with eight Spanish ships returning richly laden from the West Indies. Some of them ran ashore; but two were captured, and being brought to Portsmouth, the money and merchandise which they contained, were, by the order of Cromwell, triumphantly conveyed in waggons to London. Blake and Montague still continued off Cadiz, in expectation of the Spanish fleet returning from Peru. But, on receiving in-

* Clarend. 3. p. 453.

telligence that it had put into Teneriffe, Blake stood away for the Canaries, and found the fleet, consisting of six large galleons and ten smaller vessels, anchored in the bay of Santa Cruz, covered by land batteries, and placed in the best manner that was possible for defence. Notwithstanding the perilous nature of the attempt, Blake, without hesitation, attacked the galleons, and after having received their fire, carried them by boarding. But, as the wind prevented him from bringing them out, he was obliged to set them on fire; and thus, although the Spaniards suffered a great loss, the English acquired nothing but glory. Indeed, as it commonly happens that the greatest advantages derived from war cannot compensate its disadvantages, all the successes of the English were far from counterbalancing the loss of their trade with Spain, which being transferred to the Dutch, served, in a great measure, to indemnify them for the damages sustained in their contest with the commonwealth.

While the protector saw his arms triumphant abroad, he was harassed by conspiracies, and exposed to continual dangers at home. The royalists, the presbyterians, and the republicans, the three great parties which divided the nation, although hostile to each

other, united in their disaffection to his government. His only support was the army, which he had filled with enthusiasts and fanatics; but even among these were several rigid republicans, who having effectually served him without penetrating his designs, were extremely incensed on seeing themselves used as the tools of his private ambition. To hold all parties in subjection, Cromwell divided England into twelve districts, and placed over each a major-general, with an almost absolute power, that they might always be ready to prevent or quell insurrections.* These officers, however, so greatly oppressed the people, that he was obliged to curtail their power.

In order to remove from his government the appearance of despotism, he now resolved to call a parliament, but such an one as would be only the organ of his will. He therefore planned so dexterously his measures, that although the people seemed to enjoy perfect freedom in the choice of their representatives, he secured a great majority. Besides this, none were admitted into the house, until they had signed the engagement to be faithful to the protector and the established

Sept. 17,
A. D. 1657.

government; and, on the meeting of the parliament, above a hundred members refusing their signatures, were not permitted to take their seats. The parliament being thus modelled, the session was opened; and money was liberally granted for the maintenance of the government and army, and the continuation of the war against Spain. Having now a parliament entirely at his devotion, Cromwell, who had only one step more to the throne, and already possessed the authority, began to aspire to the title of king. In order to facilitate his design, he endeavoured, with great assiduity, to render himself popular. He caressed all parties, without even excepting the royalists, and shewed a great respect for the nobility, while his creatures were managing his interests in parliament. The motion at last was made that the regal title should be conferred on the protector; and, after a long debate, it was carried by a majority. A committee was appointed to wait on Cromwell, with an offer of the crown. He affected to be extremely surprised, and even somewhat displeased at this message; but, after appealing to his conscience, and arguing with the usual hypocrisy of politicians on similar occasions, he at length condescended to appoint a day for

hearing the reasons which they could allege, in favour of the measure which they had projected. The day being arrived, the committee again waited on Cromwell, and the members displayed all their rhetoric to bring him to compliance with the request of the parliament. The protector now appearing to be softened by their arguments, replied that he could neither refuse nor accept the crown, without due deliberation, and appointed

A. D. 1657.

the 8th of May for his final answer.

It is easy to conceive that the mind of Cromwell must now have been in a state of great agitation. His ambition would prompt him to accept the proffered crown; and those who are versed in the history of politicians will have no doubt that the whole business had been directed by himself. But the disposition of his principal friends and relations made him tremble. On the very day appointed for giving his answer, Desborough, his brother-in-law, and Fleetwood, his son-in-law, walking with him in St. James's Park, told him plainly that if he accepted the crown they could serve him no longer. This he had reason to consider as the sentiment of several other of his principal officers to whom he owed his advancement, and on whose support his fortune seemed to depend. Discouraged

by these gloomy appearances, he refused the crown at the moment when it was ready to be placed on his head; and returned his final answer to the committee that he could not accept the title of king.* This part of the history of Cromwell is exactly a counterpart to the drama acted by Cæsar at Rome.†

Although Cromwell thus saw himself obliged to relinquish his hopes of a crown, the parliament in reward of his pretended moderation, not only confirmed him in the protectorate, but increased the powers already annexed to his office. The prosperity of his affairs abroad might also, in some measure, console him for his disappointments at home. The protector had concluded with France a treaty of alliance defensive and offensive against Spain. England was to furnish six thousand men to join the French army. Mardike and Dunkirk were to be besieged, and, when taken, delivered to the English. According to these arrangements, Cromwell sent six thousand of his best troops into Flanders; and the campaign proved successful. The French reduced many strong places, and among others Mardike, which was delivered to the English. This treaty, between

* See Welwood, p. 99, &c. † Plutarch vita Julli Cæsaris.

the protector and France, was immediately followed by an alliance between king Charles and Spain. The duke of York, the earl of Bristol, and all the English of the king's party, were immediately ordered to depart from France: these retired into the Netherlands, some to the king, who was at Bruges, and others to seek employment in the Spanish armies.

Cromwell perceiving that he had a great number of enemies in the parliament, resolved to erect another house, consisting entirely of his creatures. His intention was that this house should serve as a house of lords, though he durst not call it by that name; and that it should be invested with the same privileges as the peers had formerly enjoyed.

The protector, however, experienced more difficulty in supporting his power at home than in transacting his foreign concerns. His influence in the parliament daily declined, and his enemies had gained a majority in the very house which had offered to make him a king. This unexpected change was sufficient to excite the apprehensions of Cromwell. He readily perceived how nearly it concerned his interests that this parliament should not sit any longer. He therefore went to the house,

and after loading the members with bitter reproaches, accusing them of endeavouring to corrupt the army, and declaring that some of them had enlisted men by commission for the king: he concluded his speech by saying, "I think it high time that an end be put to your sitting, and I do dissolve this parliament. And let God judge between me and you." To this appeal to heaven, many of the commons answered Amen. Thus was dissolved the last parliament that was held under the protectorate of Cromwell.

His allusion to plots in favour of the king was not without foundation. A conspiracy of this kind actually existed. The project was to excite a general insurrection against the existing government, in the hope that the royalists would not neglect so fair an opportunity of joining those who should take arms; and the marquis of Ormond came to London, where he lay concealed for the space of three weeks, in order to concert measures with the conspirators. But by the artifices of Cromwell, and the vigilance of his spies, all their projects were discovered. Mr. Mordaunt, brother to the earl of Peterborough, Sir Henry Slingsby, and Dr. Hewit, a minister of the church of England, the three principal managers of the plot, were seized and committed

to the Tower. Mordaunt had the good fortune to make his escape: Sir Henry Slingsby and Dr. Hewit were condemned and executed. Three others were hanged and quartered; and some were condemned, but pardoned by Cromwell, lest too great a severity should multiply the number of his enemies. His foreign concerns, however, still continued in a prosperous state. In Flanders the united arms of England and France were successful.

June 26th,

A. D. 1658.

Dunkirk was captured by mareschal Turenne, and, according to the treaty of alliance, delivered to the English.

Amidst the pomp and power of successful usurpation, Cromwell was far from enjoying tranquillity of mind. Conscious of having oppressed or deceived all parties, he lived in continual apprehension of open revolt or private conspiracy, and experienced all the anxiety that usually tortures the breasts of usurpers and tyrants. He received repeated information that some who had been his most zealous adherents, had formed a design of taking him off by assassination, and discovered that he had not less to fear from pretended friends than from avowed enemies. Equally distrustful of all, he knew not on whom to rely; and his suspicions excited him to use extraordinary means for avoiding the

dangers by which he was threatened. He never appeared in public without a strong guard, and took care not to sleep two nights successively in the same chamber. From the dread of assassination he was at last freed by a tertian ague, which removed him from a troublesome life. He died at White-
Sept. 3d,
A. D. 1658. hall, in the sixtieth year of his age, and the fifth of his protectorate.*

In regard to the character of this extraordinary man, it is difficult to make a just estimate of his virtues or his vices. The complicated difficulties in which he was generally involved after his appearance on the public theatre, required him to disguise all his motives of action ; and it is necessary to guard against the aspersions with which party writers have endeavoured to blacken his memory. In his private life, his morals were irreproachable. He was guilty of none of the vices to which men are most commonly addicted. Neither gluttony nor drunkenness, nor gaming nor luxury, nor incontinence nor avarice, were ever laid to his charge. In his public conduct, ambition appears to have been his predominant passion, of which the baneful impulse precipitated him into an abyss of guilt. The

* Cromwell had held the office of protector four years, eight months, and thirteen days.

murder of the unfortunate Charles I. must be considered as a crime of the greatest magnitude, and an indelible stain on his memory. For his usurpation of the government, the circumstances of the times may afford an apology. It was not from the king that he wrested the supreme power ; but from those who themselves had subverted the monarchy, and abolished the national religion, from those, in a word, who themselves were rebels and usurpers. The impartial historian must therefore acknowledge, and the candid reader will easily perceive, that Cromwell was not more guilty, but only more fortunate than the rest of those who had subverted the constitution of their country.

A profound dissimulation is one of the most conspicuous traits in the character of this successful aspirer. His situation amidst the intrigues of opposite parties, obliged him to wear a perpetual disguise, and to mask all his designs with an impenetrable veil of hypocrisy. His dissimulation, however, did not surpass that of Elizabeth, which historians have seldom considered as criminal. Duplicity, indeed, is often a necessary branch of political science. And if we peruse with attention the history of those men, who, in turbulent and difficult times, are called to act

a distinguished part on the theatre of the world, we shall find that their lives are a continual masquerade. Such, indeed, was the life of Cromwell. Never was there a man more versed in the arts of political and religious hypocrisy.* All his most remarkable actions, all his deliberations in the cabinet, all his operations in the field, were begun with prayer, and every successful manceuvre, whether political or military, was concluded with thanksgiving. On every occasion he appealed to heaven as witness of the rectitude of his intentions, and always pretended an extraordinary zeal for religion. But he could readily adopt his religious tenets to the views of his ambition and the circumstances of the times. In the beginning of the long parliament, of which he was a member, he professed himself a rigid presbyterian, but afterwards an independent; and after he obtained the protectorship, he seemed indifferent to all religious parties, whom he caressed by turns as it seemed to suit his political interests.

The abilities of Cromwell were the gifts of nature, and not the result of education. He possessed only a small share of learning, and

* Cromwell used to say that he would rather have taken the shepherd's staff than the office of protector, had it not been to prevent things from falling into confusion. *Rapin*, vol. 2. p. 601.

was destitute of the talent of eloquence. His delivery was ungraceful, and his speeches were prolix and confused. Nature, indeed, had fitted him for the camp and the cabinet, rather than for the senate. Although he was forty-two years of age before he had drawn a sword, his courage and conduct were equally conspicuous. The victory of Marston Moor was chiefly ascribed to his valour. His achievements in Ireland augmented his fame, and the battles of Dunbar and Worcester carried it to the highest degree. His reputation in the army afforded him an opportunity of displaying his capacity for civil affairs. He entered into the deepest designs of the independents, and advanced with equal rapidity in his military and his political career. As to his foreign politics, they were more conducive to his own advantage than to that of the nation. He is said to have declared in the parliament that he hoped to make the name of an Englishman as great as ever had been that of a Roman.* But a little temporary glory was a small compensation to England for the evils which resulted from his confederacy with France against Spain. A cotemporary writer, and one of his generals,

* Burnet. p. 21.

observes that, by this confederacy, the balance of the two crowns of France and Spain was destroyed, and a foundation was laid for the future greatness of the French monarchy, to the unspeakable detriment of Europe in general, and particularly of England.* One of the most beneficial effects of Cromwell's government was the impartial administration of justice. The most distinguishing characteristic of his policy was his dexterity in managing the different parties, among all of whom he had spies, as it was one of his favourite maxims to spare no cost or pains in procuring intelligence. To his unremitting vigilance and his prompt sagacity in discovering the designs of others, and in taking advantage of circumstances, his elevation may be chiefly ascribed; and, on the whole, he appears to have been a man of extraordinary exertion rather than of pre-eminent genius.

Curiosity is naturally directed to an investigation of the state of society during this turbulent period, which appears so unfavourable to commerce, to letters, and arts. The strength of the English commonwealth, after so great an effusion of blood and expenditure of money during the civil war, and the de-

* Ludlow. Mem. 2. p. 559.

destructive ravages which so many parts of the country had alternately experienced, must be considered as somewhat astonishing; and it affords a convincing proof that the kingdom was in a flourishing state at the commencement of this unhappy contest. It also appears, that during the republican government and the protectorate, the nation had improved in opulence as well as in power. In the years 1652 and 1653, the nation was able to bear an extraordinary assessment of £120,000. per month, besides the ordinary taxes, which were not inconsiderable.* The legal interest of money, which since the reign of Henry VIII. had been reduced from ten to eight, was now fixed at six per cent. an unequivocal sign of increasing commerce and wealth.

The sanguinary contests of competitors for disputed crowns, are destructive to social improvements, and greatly impede the progress of letters and science; but those which arise between political and religious parties rouse the energies of the mind; by placing before it the most interesting objects of human inquiry. The civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster greatly contributed to prolong the age of Gothic ignorance in England: the dispute between Charles I.

* And. Hist. Comm. 2. p. 490.

and his parliament, and the clashing of different parties, tended to diffuse light through the nation. "Those," says a judicious writer, "who consider the usual excitements to genius, will not be surprised to find, that amidst all the disorders of that period, the important disputes and violent struggle in which a great part of the nation was engaged, by awakening a spirit of activity and enterprise, had contributed to accelerate, instead of retarding, the pursuits of science and literature, and by opening to men of letters a wide field of ambition, excited them to cultivate their talents."* To the operation of such causes may be referred Milton's Treatises on Government, Harrington's Oceana, and other political works, which, although we cannot, at this happy period, approve their principles, display great erudition and an extensive knowledge of history. This period, indeed, was not less fertile in political works than the reign of James I. had been in those on theology; and the seeds of intellect, which struck root in those times of general inquiry, produced a plentiful harvest of genius after the restoration.

The singular complexion of the times produced a corresponding effect on the national

* Millar's Eng. Gov. 3. p. 287.

character and manners, which assumed an air of puritanical stiffness and republican severity. All kinds of diversions, all splendid gaiety, and extravagant expences, were condemned as sinful, and exploded as unfashionable. But although this was an age of fanaticism, it was not marked by intolerance. According to the system of the independents, an unbounded latitude was allowed to religious opinions, so long as they did not interfere with the political system. Cromwell, indeed, extended the benefits of toleration not only to christians, but even to the jews, whom he permitted to settle in England for the first time since their expulsion in the reign of Edward I. but it is said that he adopted this measure on the consideration of their extensive correspondence, and their trade in monied concerns, and that he obtained from them a present of £200,000. in return for his indulgence in granting them an establishment.* But the most memorable event of this period is, the total abolition of villainage, which, by the increase of trade, and the influx of money, since the reign of Elizabeth, appears to have been gradually worn out. Cromwell and his parliament abolished

* Barnet, p. 71.

"socage in capite," with the courts of wards and liveries, and thus put a final period to the feudal system in England.

The interval of time between Cromwell's demise and the king's restoration, may be justly considered as a season of anarchy. He had nominated, for his successor in the protectorship, his eldest son, Richard, who was soon discovered to want the abilities and experience requisite in so troublesome a situation. The nation was divided into a confused variety of parties, consisting of royalists, republicans, presbyterians, anabaptists, independents, and fifth monarchy men, who daily expected the appearance of Christ to reign upon earth. Oliver had been able to overawe, but not to extinguish these factions; and as soon as death had removed him out of the world, each of them hoped to gain the ascendancy under the protectorate of his son, who did not inherit his talents. Richard had intended to follow the maxims of government adopted by his father, and accordingly formed the design of making himself master of the deliberations of his council, and of reducing the army to receive his orders with submission. By these two maxims Oliver had maintained his authority. But to pursue the same measures, Richard ought to have

possessed his father's capacity for civil and military affairs, his courage and resolution ; and, in a word, like him to have been able to strike terror into all those who should oppose his designs. Richard had none of those talents for commanding respect, for inspiring his opponents with fear, or his adherents with confidence. His first measure, however, was dictated by prudence. Considering his father's testament, the approbation of the council, and the addresses from counties, cities, and boroughs, /as insufficient to establish his authority, he deemed it expedient to have his dignity confirmed by a parliament, which

Jan. 27th,
A. D. 1659.

was accordingly called, consisting of the same number of members, and modelled in the same manner, as the last that was held under his father's protectorate.

Richard soon found himself surrounded with difficulties. The council began to assume greater power than it had possessed under the former protectorate ; and the army aspired to the authority which it possessed during the latter part of the commonwealth. The officers were divided into three parties.* The first consisted of rigid republicans ; the second of those who had been active in setting

* The names of their leaders may be seen in Ludlow, vol. 2. p. 631.

up Richard only with a view of usurping the powers of government under the sanction of his name—these two factions were almost equally balanced ; the third, and the feeblest party, was composed of the adherents to the new protector. Fleetwood, his brother-in-law, and Desborough, his uncle, who had greatly contributed to advance him to the protectorate, were the first to combine against his authority, and their intrigues proved successful. They represented the opposition which his father had often met with from parliaments ; and under the pretext of supporting his power, they assembled a council of the officers at London. This assembly, which assumed the title of “ the great council of the army,” and was designed as a check both to the parliaments and the protector, was under the direction of another council, which was composed of Desborough, Fleetwood, and other privy counsellors, and principal officers of the army. These arrangements being made, the great council of officers threw off the mask. They presented a petition that no member of the army should be subject to the civil power, and that the officers should enjoy the privilege of choosing their general. It was easy to perceive that this was nothing less than aspiring to the sove-

reignty. Richard rejected the petition, and threatened to cashier them for their presumption.

The parliament, in the mean while, confirmed Richard in the protectorship, and seemed disposed to support his measures; but its authority was subverted by the power of the army. Desborough, with a strong guard, having seized all the avenues to Whitehall, and demanded an audience of the protector, compelled him by menaces to dissolve the parliament. The officers then proceeded to elect Fleetwood for their general. But Lambert, who was a man of immoderate ambition, immediately began to form a private cabal: he would gladly have followed the steps of Oliver Cromwell, had circumstances been favourable to his design; but Fleetwood being an ardent enthusiast, was the idol of a fanatical army. Lambert, therefore, was obliged to act with caution, and engaged Colonel Lilburn to cabal with the inferior officers, in order to check the aspiring measures of his rival. Although Richard still enjoyed the title of protector, his authority was extinct; and Fleetwood, as general of the army, convened the officers at Wallingford-house to settle the government. All the superior officers attended; but those of

inferior rank were induced, by the intrigues of Lambert and Lilburn, to assemble at St. James's, where they unanimously agreed that nothing could be more advantageous to the commonwealth than the restoration of the long parliament. This resolution was entirely conformable to the sentiments of the army, of which both the officers and soldiers chiefly consisted of independents, anabaptists, enthusiasts, fifth monarchy men, and other fanatics—all of them republicans strictly devoted to what they called “the good old cause,” that is to say, the cause supported by the parliament which was now to be restored, or, in plain words, the cause of republicanism, rebellion, and regicide. The superior officers were intimidated by their subalterns into a compliance; and to prevent a revolt in the army, it was resolved to restore the long parliament. But care was taken to exclude all the presbyterians, and not more than forty-two members took their seats. This curtailed assembly, which was called in derision the rump parliament,* obliged Richard to resign the protectorship, after assigning pensions to him and his mother, and then began to adopt measures for reducing the power of the army.

* Alluding to the rump of a fowl.

The scenes which preceded the elevation of Cromwell were now renewed : the army presented a seditious address, which the parliament answered by an order to displace Fleetwood, Lambert, Desborough, and others of the principal officers, appointing commissioners for the government of the army.

But these proceedings not being supported by force, the officers received with contempt the orders of parliament. Lambert, with a body of troops, secured all the avenues leading

Oct. 13th,
A. D. 1659.

to the house, and the next day Fleetwood, coming to join him, prevented the members from assembling. The parliament being thus forcibly dissolved, a council of ten of the principal officers was appointed for the temporary administration of the government. At last, on the thirteenth day, after the dispersion of the parliament, the great council of officers assembled at London, as sole sovereign of the commonwealth, appointed a committee of safety, consisting of twenty-three persons, in whose hands they placed the supreme authority.

During these incessant alterations of the government, general Monk, who commanded in Scotland, and was at the head of twelve thousand veteran troops, began to consider the difficulties and the advantages of his situation.

The rump parliament had, before its dispersion, begun to treat with him, and had received a promise of his obedience and aid; and the council of officers endeavoured to draw him to their party. But although he was equally carressed by the parliament and the army, because the former wanted his help and the latter feared his opposition, he knew that whichever of the two parties prevailed, he should, at last, be the victim. As it was impossible, in such times and such circumstances, to maintain a neutrality in the midst of contending factions, Monk declared for the parliament, and resolved to march into England,

It has been generally imagined, that from the first commencement of the rupture between the parliament and the army, Monk had formed the project of restoring the monarchy. This might, indeed, have been an object of distant contemplation to a mind balancing between loyalty and ambition, and agitated by apprehensions of danger from the governing part of the nation; but it is more reasonable to suppose, with a judicious historian of those times,* that he had formed no settled design, but had resolved to act as

* Dr. Burnet, p. 84.

circumstances should require and opportunity should permit. But whatever might be his intentions, he covered them with such a veil of secrecy and dissimulation as to render them impenetrable. The restoration of the rump parliament was his ostensible object, and under this pretext he made preparations for marching into England. The presbyterian party, which had been held in subjection by the independents, now began to revive, and the deposed parliament sent Monk a commission, appointing him commander in chief of the armies of the commonwealth.

The governor of Portsmouth declared for the parliament. The committee of safety, on hearing of this defection, sent a detachment to block up the town; but the soldiers deserted their officers, and, declaring for the parliament, were received into Portsmouth as friends. Another detachment followed their example, and vice-admiral Lowson, at the same time declaring for the parliament, sailed up the Thames with his fleet to overawe the adherents of the committee. During these transactions the committee of safety, discouraged and confounded, took no measures for maintaining their station, and instead of collecting the army, on which, indeed, they could have no reliance, suffered it to be dis-

persed in different quarters. In the mean while the troops from Portsmouth, with some of the members of the parliament at their head, marched towards London. The committee of safety, not daring to trust their own soldiers, were in the greatest perplexity. In this critical situation, Fleetwood was advised by some to put himself at the head of the army, and either reduce the parliament or restore the king. At first he was inclined to adopt the latter of these measures, in order to ensure the safety of himself and his friends; but the advice of Vane, Desborough, and others, induced him to alter his mind. He and his colleagues, therefore, either through want of capacity or of resolution to extricate themselves from these difficulties, consented to the meeting of parliament, and resigned their authority.

No sooner was the news of this event spread through the kingdom, than general Lambert, who commanded a division of the army in the north, was put under arrest by his own troops, and afterwards sent to the Tower. Sir Henry Vane and some other members of parliament, who had taken part with the army, also were committed to prison. Thus the rump parliament was restored about a week before general Monk left Scotland.

Dec. 26th,
A. D. 1659.

A. D. 1660.

Monk began his march, and on the 2d of January entered England. He had not advanced far before he received a message from the speaker of the house, informing him of the events which had taken place, and thanking him for his good intentions, but intimating, at the same time, that his proceeding to London was now unnecessary. Monk, however, continued his march under pretence of supporting the authority of the newly restored parliament. His conduct now began to be daily more suspected. Monk, who had only between five and six thousand men, could have no reliance but on the disposition of the people and the dissensions between the parliament and the council of officers, which he took every method to foment, as their union must have rendered all his projects impracticable; and it fortunately happened that the parliament were more jealous of their own army than of Monk, who professed that his march to London was only to render them service. On his arrival at St. Alban's, he sent a message to the parliament, requesting that the regiments in the city might be sent to more distant quarters. This demand, which many of the members suspected of involving some mystery, was complied with by a majority of votes: the regi-

ments were, therefore, ordered to remove, and

Feb. 3rd,
A. D. 1660. Monk, with his troops, entered

London in triumph. The next step was to introduce into the parliament the presbyterian members who had formerly been excluded. This, Monk, after various manœuvres, effected, to the great satisfaction of the people, and particularly of the city of London, which was almost wholly presbyterian. But he obliged these members to engage, that, after their re-admission, they would dissolve the existing parliament, and issue writs for a new election. The presbyterians now forming a great majority in the house, several acts were passed which may be considered as preparatives to the restoration of the king; and a new council of state was appointed, consisting of thirty-one members, most of whom were royalists. In fine they
March 16th,
A. D. 1660. dissolved themselves after having issued writs for the election of a free parliament.

It could now no longer be doubted that the restoration of the king was intended; and the republicans, who dreaded the royal resentment, endeavoured to persuade Monk to assume the sovereign power in imitation of Cromwell. But the general, preferring the glory of restoring the monarchy to a trouble-

some usurpation, surrounded with perils and difficulties, rejected the alluring proposal. In the mean while he gave the king private intimation of his designs. He also new modelled the army, quelled an incipient insurrection, and prepared every thing for the execution of his project.

A. D. 1660.

On the 25th of April the new parliament met in two houses according to the ancient constitution. Most of the lords were royalists; and in the House of Commons it was found that many of that party were elected. The presbyterians, weary of the dominion of the independents and fanatics, which had now lasted twelve years, were not less desirous of restoring the king than the royalists; and these two parties constituted a great majority in both houses. The lords and commons, therefore, unanimously voted the king's restoration, without any of those conditions which had once been thought of sufficient importance to warrant so long a civil war and so great an effusion of blood.

May 8th,
A. D. 1660.

A few days after Charles was proclaimed in London. Commissioners were sent to the Hague to congratulate him on the part of the parliament and the city. After remaining some days at the Hague, to receive the compliments of the states, the king

embarked for England and landed at Dover. On the 29th of May, 1660, he arrived at Whitehall, and the acclamations of numberless multitudes demonstrated the joy of the people at his restoration.

Thus ended the reign of republican tyranny, protectoral usurpation, and fanatical anarchy. It is evident that the restoration of the king is not to be ascribed to any particular person or party, but to the general disposition and wish of the nation. All ranks, all classes of people, weary of the incessant revolutions in the government, united in the desire of seeing the legitimate monarch on the throne. To give efficacy to the public will, nothing but an able conductor, of so critical a business, was necessary. At what time general Monk first formed his project is uncertain; but it is evident that he carried on his designs with consummate prudence and impenetrable secrecy. Perfectly master of that profound dissimulation so necessary to politicians in such difficult circumstances, he concealed his designs from his most intimate friends, until his project was so far advanced that nothing could prevent its execution. Being, therefore, considered as the principal agent in the restoration of Charles II. to the throne of his ancestors, he was, for this signal

service, created duke of Albemarle, and confirmed in the office of commander in chief of the army.

CHARLES II.

CHARLES II. being thus restored to the throne, England assumed a new aspect. The nation which had been harassed by the discords of a republican government, alternately rising into tyranny, and sinking into anarchy, was overjoyed on seeing the legitimate monarch on the throne, and expected, from that long wished for event, all the benefits that a flattering imagination could paint. But the precipitate manner in which it had taken place, laid the foundation of evils which prevented the realization of these delusive hopes. "The restoration of Charles "II." says a judicious writer, "was effected "in such an agitation of the public mind, as "precluded every deliberation and precaution that prudence ought to have suggested. "Having no leisure to enter into particulars, "the nation was satisfied with the professions

“ of Charles; conceived, in general terms,
“ that in matters of religion he would shew
“ indulgence to differences of opinion, and
“ grant a free pardon to all offences, reserving
“ to the consideration of parliament the excep-
“ tions that ought to be made. None of the
“ political points, which, since the accession
“ of James I. had been the subjects of contro-
“ versy, were, on this occasion, settled or
“ explained; and the king assuming the reins
“ of government, without any limitations or
“ conditions, was understood to recover all
“ that extent of prerogative, which, before
“ the commencement of the civil war, had been
“ vested in the crown; and his whole reign
“ exhibits a disgusting repetition of struggles
“ similar to those which had occurred under
“ the two first princes of the house of Stew-
“ art.”* This, like many other instances on
historical record, shews the fluctuating nature
of public sentiment. Did not, indeed, so
many examples of these sudden changes ex-
ist, it would astonish posterity to see a whole
nation at one time almost unanimously de-
claring against a monarchical government,
and so soon after, with the most unbounded
flattery, soliciting the shackles of arbitrary
power.

* Millar's Hist. Eng. Gov. 3, p. 373 and 374

The parliament having proceeded to regulate the exceptions to the general pardon, the bodies of Oliver Cromwell, general Ireton, and Bradshaw, president of the court which condemned the late king, were disinterred, and dragged to the place of execution, where they hung a whole day, and were afterwards buried under the gallows. Of those who sat in judgment on that unfortunate prince, some were dead; some had retired into foreign countries, a few were pardoned, and only ten out of the original number were doomed to immediate destruction.* These were enthusiasts, who had acted from principle, and met their fate with the confidence of martyrs. The restoration of episcopacy immediately followed that of royalty; and the parliament, anxious to prevent the wishes of the monarch, granted him a revenue of £1,200. per annum. The army, which had long been so difficult to manage, was disbanded; but Charles formed a body guard, consisting of a regiment of horse and another of foot, in imitation of the practice of France and other European kingdoms. This was the first institution of the kind in England, his predecessors having had no other guards than the gentlemen pensioners established by

* Rapin, 2. p. 621.

Henry VII. After these matters were settled,

Charles dissolved the parliament.
A. D. 1661:

The following year was ushered in by an event, which however extraordinary, was consistent with the spirit of those fanatical times. This was an insurrection of some of the fifth monarchy men, who expected the coming of Christ to reign upon earth. More than fifty of these wild enthusiasts, headed by Venner, one of their sect, appeared in the streets of London, in arms. Having killed a man, who on being demanded "who he was for," had answered "for God and the king," they declared against any other monarch than Jesus Christ. The city being alarmed, sent against them some of the trained bands, whom the insurgents quickly routed, and then marching through several of the streets, retired to a wood between Highgate and Hampstead. From that position they were dislodged by general Monk, and several of them made prisoners. The rest returned to the city, where they fought desperately for some time, till at last being overpowered by numbers, they took refuge in a house. There they defended themselves like men regardless of death: but Venner being wounded, and twenty of his men killed, he was taken prisoner with the rest of his followers. A few

days after these infatuated fanatics were tried, condemned, and executed, without shewing any signs of remorse, and persisting to the last in their extravagant opinions.

This insurrection of a few mad enthusiasts, could not be considered as the consequence of a design formed by a whole party, and much less of a combination of all the religious sectaries. The court, however, urged it as a proof of a conspiracy against the government; and the king took occasion from thence to publish a proclamation, prohibiting all meetings and conventicles held under pretence of religion. It appears that the ruin of the presbyterians was already resolved, and that pretences were eagerly sought to justify this resolution. But as he had promised, in his declaration from Breda, that he would persecute no one for his religion, it was necessary to create a belief, that all that was done was intended only to secure the tranquillity of the state. For this purpose an admirable expedient was devised. This was to range, under the general denomination of non-conformists, all the different sects, as well the presbyterians as the independents, the anabaptists, the catholics, and all other dissenters from the established church. By this affected confusion all the non-conformists, how dif-

ferent soever their tenets, or how hostile soever their sentiments might be to each other, were charged with the faults of any one of the sects comprised under that name, as if they had composed but one body, united by the same interests, and having the same views, and were punished without distinction under pretence of preventing them from disturbing the state. But it is evident that these precautions had the presbyterians for their chief or rather their only object, as the court had no design of depressing the catholics; and the independents and anabaptists were parties too inconsiderable to excite any apprehension. It has already been observed, that during the first years of the civil war, the presbyterians possessed all the power both in church and state; and under the commonwealth and the protectorate they were still the most numerous sect, although the independents had seized the government. At the time of the restoration, the city of London was almost wholly presbyterian: that sect was extremely numerous throughout both England and Scotland; and they composed a considerable majority of the parliament which restored the king. The restoration, as already observed, was not the work of a party but of the whole people. But the majority of the people was

presbyterian. It cannot therefore be denied that the presbyterians were the principal agents in the business of restoring the monarchy, and that their services were rewarded with ingratitude; but it must also be considered that their loyalty did not proceed from any affection to the king or attachment to monarchical government, but from a desire of freeing themselves from the tyranny of the independents and other fanatics.

But although the king permitted the persecution of sectaries, it was only from political motives; for it is universally agreed that religion had no influence over his mind. A new parliament being summoned, met on the May 8th,
A. D. 1661. day appointed, and it soon appeared that the members had been elected according to the wishes of the court. It was almost wholly composed of high-church-men, violent enemies of the presbyterians, and wholly devoted to the king. The English parliament, therefore, concurred in all the designs of the court, and that of Scotland was still more flattering in its demonstrations of obedience. The solemn league and covenant were revoked, episcopacy was re-established, and the church of Scotland was, without any effort, brought to a conformity with that of England. Such was the

wonderful change since the days of the unfortunate Charles I. and such are the fluctuations of public sentiment.

But although the king was restored, and every thing proceeded according to his wish, the cavaliers or royalists, who had been firm to his cause in all the vicissitudes of his fortune, and had suffered great losses from their inflexible adherence to him and his father, were left without any compensation. His friends, therefore, complained against that ingratitude which left them to perish with hunger, while his enemies were, by the act of indemnity, secured in the possession of immense riches, acquired by means the most illegal.* But the sufferers complained and petitioned in vain. Charles was neither able nor inclined to afford them relief. His pleasures, his flatterers, and concubines, engrossed his attention and exhausted his finances, and thus left him destitute of the means of answering the calls of generosity or gratitude. One of the most remarkable acts of this reign was the act of uniformity, which struck at the root of the presbyterian

A. D. 1662.

* A modern historian observes, that the king's neglect of the cavaliers admits of this excuse, that he was restored more by the efforts of his reconciled enemies, the presbyterians, than by those of his ancient friends. *Hume Hist. Eng.* 2. p. 113, 158.

religion and interest. In consequence of this act two thousand ministers chose to resign their livings, rather than subscribe their assent to the book of common prayer. This measure may be considered as a hardship ; but it must be remembered that not only the church of England but the throne itself had lately been overturned by the presbyterians. Experience, therefore, suggested the prevention of danger by depriving them of the power of acting, a second time, the same part ; and it cannot surprise posterity that the church and the crown should unite to depress a party whose principles were considered as hostile to the civil and ecclesiastical constitution.

About the same time, the marriage of the king with the princess of Portugal was concluded, on terms extremely advantageous to England. The king of Portugal agreed to give with his daughter £300,000. sterling, the town of Tangier, in Africa, and the is. and of Bombay, in the East Indies. Charles, on his part, engaged to assist Portugal against Spain. Thus the treaty appeared advantageous to both countries. England, beside the money pocketed by the king, acquired possessions of considerable value, and Portugal obtained a powerful alliance. This transaction, however, was followed by another,

which has been considered by posterity as one of the blemishes of this reign. Dunkirk, which, in the time of the protectorate, had been given by cardinal Mazarin to England, for the assistance afforded by Cromwell against Spain, was sold by Charles to France for the sum of five millions of livres, which he soon squandered away on his pleasures.

In passing the act of uniformity, and expelling from the service of the church such ministers as refused to conform to her doctrines and worship, the parliament had acted on the principle of precaution, and taken what were deemed just measures for preventing a repetition of the disturbances which had so lately convulsed the kingdom, and subverted its civil and ecclesiastical constitution. So far, indeed, religious restrictions may be called necessary precautions; but every thing farther is down right persecution. Every man has an indefeasible right to worship the deity in the manner which he believes to be the most acceptable. In matters merely religious, liberty of conscience is the "*sanctum sanctorum*," which no human power ought to violate. But the violences of opposite parties, as they alternately rise into power, had at this time been so recently and so fatally experienced, that it was difficult to fix the line of demarkation between the

measures necessary for self-preservation and the anti-christian system of persecution. The king was neither by nature nor education formed for a persecutor, and considering the altar and the throne as sufficiently secured by the act of uniformity, would gladly have indulged the non-conformists with a toleration of their worship in separate assemblies. But the high church party, reflecting on the tyranny of the presbyterians when in power, resolved completely to depress, and, if possible, to eradicate their doctrines, which they considered as incompatible with the safety of the church. The parliament, therefore, passed an act, prohibiting the frequenting of private conventicles: "the penalty for the first offence was five pounds, or three months imprisonment, or ten pounds for a peer; for the second offence ten pounds for a commoner, or six months imprisonment, and twenty pounds for a peer. But for the third offence, the party convicted was to pay a fine of a hundred pounds, or be transported to the plantations." Such was the rigorous retaliation which the presbyterians experienced from those whom they had recently oppressed.

Although the revenue of Charles greatly exceeded that of his late predecessors, his prodigality rendered him indigent. He resolved on a war against Holland, and borrowed a

hundred thousand pounds of the city of London for the equipment of his fleet. Historians have endeavoured in vain to develop the real cause of this rupture. Some ascribe it to the ambition of the duke of York, the king's brother, who wished to distinguish himself in commanding the fleet as high admiral: others presume that Charles having squandered the sums granted by parliament, as well as the money obtained by the sale of Dunkirk, considered a war as affording him an opportunity of expending on his pleasures a part of the money to be granted for the support of a fleet and an army, while others attribute this rupture between England and Holland to the intrigues of France.* But the writers of history, when they pretend to display the secret designs of courts and cabinets, generally step out of their province. They can only exhibit prominent facts, and estimate their consequences: the more minute springs of action are concealed under an impenetrable veil of mystery. On this occasion, therefore, it suffices to say, that the king, the duke of York, and the parliament, appeared equally desirous of war: pretexts were easily found, and, according to custom, memorials

* Vide Burnet, p. 193, &c. who gives his opinion from hearsay; but intimates that he had it from several eminent statesmen.

were published in justification of the rupture.

A. D. 1665. In the month of May, the duke of York set sail with the English fleet. After various manœuvres, the first famous naval engagement took place. The

**June 3d,
A. D. 1665.** English fleet was divided into three squadrons: The first, under the red flag, was commanded by the duke of York, high admiral of England: the second, or white squadron, by prince Rupert, and the blue by the earl of Sandwich. The Dutch fleet was commanded by admiral Opdam, who was killed in the action, as was also admiral Cortenaer, who, on his fall, succeeded to the command. The death of these two experienced commanders contributed in no small degree to decide the issue of the contest, which ended in the total discomfiture of the Dutch fleet. Eighteen of their ships of war were taken: fourteen were burned or sunk; and the English are said to have gained this important victory with the loss of only one ship. The duke of York soon after returned to England, and was received with applause by the court and the city of London: a public thanksgiving was ordered for his success: medals were struck in his honour; and the parliament voted him the sum of a £120,000. in reward of his services.

While the navy of England was triumphing on the ocean, London was labouring under the most grievous calamity incident to the human race. The plague raged so dreadfully

A. D. 1665. in that metropolis as to carry off, in

this year, not fewer than sixty-three thousand persons. This terrible calamity, however, which rendered London a charnel-house, neither abated the ardour for war nor the rage of religious parties. The parliament voted a supply of twelve hundred and fifty thousand pounds for carrying on the war, and enacted that no non-conformist minister should dwell or approach, except in passing along the high road, within five miles of any corporation, or of any other place where he had formerly preached, under the penalty of forty pounds and six months imprisonment, unless he had taken the corporation oath before his commitment. In Scotland, the laws against non-conformists were still more severe. By an order of the council, all the silenced ministers were forbidden to reside within twenty miles of the places where they had preached, or within six miles of Edinburgh, or of any cathedral church, or within three miles of any borough, on pain of incurring the penalties of the laws against movers of sedition. This severity excited an insur-

rection in Scotland. About fifteen hundred presbyterians took arms; but they were easily dispersed, with the loss of three hundred killed, and a hundred taken prisoners, of whom the greatest part suffered capital punishment.

A. D. 1666.

The following year began with an unfavourable aspect. The kings of France and Denmark joined with the Dutch in the war against England. But Louis XIV. though he could not resist the pressing solicitation of the states, never intended to afford them any effectual resistance, and all the operations of this naval campaign seem to indicate a secret understanding between France and England. The war was, therefore, carried on only between the English and Dutch; and the first naval engagement continued four days. The English fleet, consisting of about fifty-eight sail of the line, besides frigates and fire-ships, was commanded by the duke of Albemarle, and that of the Dutch by their celebrated admiral Ruyter, who put to sea with seventy-one sail of the line, twelve frigates, thirteen fire-ships, and eight yachts. In the first three days fight, the English were overpowered by a great superiority of force: on the fourth day, the duke of Albemarle being joined by prince Rupert, with between twenty and thirty ships of the line, renewed

the fight, but with no better success. According to the account of the historians of Holland, La Neuville and Basnage, the English lost, in these four days, twenty-three large ships, besides several of an inferior size, six thousand men and two thousand six hundred prisoners; but Echard says that only nine English ships of war were taken or destroyed, and that the Dutch lost above fifteen ships and five thousand seamen besides officers.* Such is often the uncertainty of the accounts which national pride or the ignorance of historians transmits to posterity. Dr. Burnet, however, observes that a day of thanksgiving was appointed in London as if the English had been conquerors†. And, indeed, it seems that the issue of this action was not decisive, as the fleets of the two rival nations soon met again to contend for the empire of the ocean. In the next engagement the English had above a hundred sail, and the Dutch eighty-eight of the line and nineteen fire-ships. In this action Tromp, the admiral of the Zealand squadron, was guilty of a piece of misconduct which proved fatal to the Dutch. Having defeated the blue

* Echard, 3. p. 161. In this engagement De Wit, who was on board the Dutch fleet, is said to have invented chain shot. Tindal's *Notes on Rapin*, 2. p. 642.

† Barnett, p. 229.

squadron of the English, he continued the pursuit, and separated from the fleet; and Evertzen, who commanded the ships of north Holland and Friesland, being killed by a cannon ball, his squadron was totally dispersed. Admiral Ruyter being thus left alone to contend with the two squadrons of the English, under the duke of Albemarle and prince Rupert, was overpowered by the superiority of their force.* Above twenty of the Dutch ships were burned or sunk: four thousand of their seamen were killed, and near three thousand wounded.† Admiral Ruyter, however, displayed such skill in his retreat, that he acquired more glory than if he had gained a victory.

Though the English had closed the naval campaign with success, the nation saw all the advantages gained by its arms more than counterbalanced, by an accidental calamity which no human sagacity could foresee or prevent. London, which during the preceding year had so dreadfully suffered by the pestilence, was now laid waste by a general conflagration. Besides eighty-nine churches, and other public buildings, four hundred streets, and

Sept. 2d,
A. D. 1666.

* This naval engagement took place on the 24th July, 1666.

† Echard, 3. p. 162.

thirteen thousand two hundred houses, were consumed; and the ruins of the city extending from the Tower by the side of the Thames to the Temple church, and from the east gate along the city wall to Holborn bridge, covered four hundred and thirty-six acres of ground.* At this period, when the rage of parties ran high, people were rather inclined to ascribe so terrible a disaster to the malevolence of man than to the visitation of providence. A variety of conjectures were formed in regard to the causes and authors of the fire; and, as it is generally the case on such extraordinary occasions, a number of groundless and even improbable tales were invented and propagated. By some it was attributed to the republican party, by others to the catholics. Several suspected persons were arrested and examined; but, after the most diligent perquisitions, nothing could be discovered, and the fire is now universally believed to have been accidental.†

* See the inscription on the monument erected in commemoration of the fire.—This dreadful conflagration lasted three days, and a high wind adding to its fury, no human efforts were able to put a stop to its ravages, especially as many of the houses were built of timber, until it reached the extremities of the city, where the buildings were less crowded.

† It is somewhat extraordinary that a Frenchman accused himself of setting fire to the city, and was executed, although it was afterwards proved that he was in France when the conflagration took place. Burnet, p. 230.

The confusion and distress, occasioned by so terrible a calamity, did not check the ardour of the nation to humble the power of Holland. While London was laid in ashes, and its ruins had scarcely ceased from smoking, the parliament voted a supply of eighteen hundred thousand pounds for carrying on the war, as well as passed several acts for rebuilding the city. The king, however, had secretly entered into a negotiation for peace, and, in the expectation of its conclusion, laid up his fleet. But this remissness rendered the Dutch less tractable. Believing, or pretending to believe, that the court of London only amused them by prolonging the negotiations, the states resolved to procure a peace by the efforts of their arms.

Pursuant to this resolution, admiral Ruyter sailed from the Texel with a formidable fleet, while England had only a squadron of about twenty ships at sea, and steered directly to the mouth of the Thames. He then
June 10th,
A. D. 1667. detached vice-admiral Van Ghent, with seventeen of his lightest vessels and some fire-ships, to sail up the river. Van Ghent, proceeding according to his instructions, made himself master of Sheerness, and after destroying a magazine of stores to the value of forty thousand pounds, blew up the forti-

fications. This unexpected attack excited great alarm, and, in order to protect the ships in the Medway, several vessels were sunk, and a large chain was thrown across the river. The Dutch, however, by the help of the tide and a strong wind broke the chain, steered between the sunk vessels, and sailing up the Medway as far as Chatham, burned six large ships of the line, carried one away, and damaged several others. The public consternation was now extreme: nothing less was expected than that the Dutch fleet would sail up to London bridge. In order to impede its progress, thirteen ships were sunk in the Thames opposite to Woolwich, and four at Blackwall, and batteries were erected on the banks of the river. The complaints of the people equalled their consternation: it was openly said that the king had kept, to expend on his pleasures, the money so generously granted him for carrying on the war, and left his subjects exposed to the insults of the enemy, while he, on his part, exclaimed against the injustice of believing him to be capable of such a conduct. Admiral Ruyter, however, instead of attempting to reach London, sailed for Portsmouth, with the design of burning the ships in the harbour: but finding this project impracticable, he took some vessels

in Torbay. He then returned to the eastward, and having beaten the English squadron before Harwich, forced it to retire into the Thames. Being now master of the seas, he kept the coast of England in a continual alarm, till the conclusion of the treaty of peace, which the decisive conduct of the states, and the bold operations of their fleet, greatly contributed to accelerate. Thus was an unsuccessful war terminated by an inglorious peace, which procured no compensation to the English merchants for the injuries which had served as a pretext for commencing hostilities.

Charles was not ignorant of the dissatisfaction which the conduct of the war had given to his subjects, nor of the proneness of the people to impute every disaster to the mismanagement of ministers. The earl of Clarendon had long possessed the principal sway in the councils; but the severity of his manners, as well as his notions of religion and government, were diametrically opposite to the inclinations and maxims of the court.* The king, therefore, was glad of a favourable

* The earl of Clarendon was averse to every species of debauchery and libertinism, and was consequently hated by a profligate court. He was also the avowed enemy of the non-conformists, for whom the king was labouring to procure a toleration. *Rapin*, vol. 2. p. 648, 650.

opportunity of freeing himself from a minister whose presence and councils were become insupportable. He dismissed the earl from his office of chancellor, and the commons assembled in parliament, impeached him of treason.* Clarendon, in order to avoid the storm, withdrew into France; and the parliament soon after passed an act for his banishment. This minister had been the mortal enemy of the non-conformists, and one of the chief promoters of their persecution. But his removal procured them no advantage, as the king could never prevail on the parliament to grant them a toleration. The face of the court, however, was totally changed: the king being now freed from a troublesome minister, whose presence was a reproof to his conduct, gave himself up without any reserve to his pleasures; and his courtiers followed his example. Soon after the termination of the Dutch war, Charles had entered into a treaty with Sweden, and the states general for the preservation of the Spanish Netherlands. This confederacy, which was called the triple alliance, by putting a stop to the conquests of Louis XIV. procured a peace between

* One of the principal and most obvious charges preferred against him was his advising the sale of Dunkirk.

France and Spain, and proved to Charles a source of considerable profit. By pretending a necessity of building some new ships of war, and equipping a strong fleet for the support of his engagements, he obtained from the parliament a supply of three hundred and ten thousand pounds. But not a single ship was built; and the money granted by parliament was lavished by the king on his favourites and mistresses.

About this time it appears that Charles had formed the design of rendering himself absolute, and, according to the general opinion, of establishing the catholic religion. The duke of York, who now openly professed himself a catholic, had the principal direction of affairs. Charles also established a secret council of five members, in order to facilitate the execution of his designs. These were Sir Thomas Clifford, the earl of Arlington, the duke of Buckingham, Anthony Ashley Cowper, soon after created earl of Shaftsbury, and the duke of Lauderdale, who, from the initials of their names or titles, were called the Cabal. Clifford was an open, and Arlington a disguised catholic; Buckingham and Shaftsbury were infidels; and Lauderdale, though a presbyterian, considered religion only as an engine of state: all these, therefore,

were judiciously chosen to second the views of the king and the duke.

To render the king absolute it was necessary to enter into a close connection with France, and to depress the united provinces : from the former alone he could expect assistance in the execution of his plans ; and the latter he considered as the only foreign power that could give any effectual support to the republican party in England. Charles, therefore, entered into an alliance with Louis XIV. and both of them resolved on a war with Holland. But the English treasury was ill provided for a rupture. The prodigality of the king rendered him indigent ; and notwithstanding the liberal supplies granted by parliament, he was always obliged to anticipate his revenues. His want of money impelled him, on this occasion, to recur to one of the boldest and most unwarrantable expedients that is met with in the annals of the English government. By the advice of Clifford, one of the cabal, he shut up the exchequer, and seized on the money

A. D. 1671.

which the bankers had lent him at eight per cent. The exchequer remaining shut up above a year, the bankers were unable to make their payments, and a number of families were consequently ruined by the

interruption of their pursuits. But Charles pleaded the necessities of the state in justification of the measure. It would be useless to mention the negociations by which the states-general endeavoured to avert the impending danger, or the manifestos, declarations, &c., by which the courts of England and France pretended to justify the meditated attack. These are all matters of course, and of constant recurrence in political affairs; and those who are acquainted with history, cannot be ignorant that amidst the complicated affairs of nations, specious pretexts may be easily found for commencing hostilities.

All the endeavours of the states for averting the storm having proved ineffectual, war was
March 28th, declared against them on the same
A. D. 1672. day both at London and Paris; and the fleet and army of England had orders to act in conjunction with those of France. The duke of Monmouth, natural son of Charles, being placed at the head of six thousand English forces, joined the French army in Flanders; and Louis XIV. made so rapid a progress, that the whole of Holland would, in a single campaign, have been subjugated, had not the Dutch adopted the desperate expedient of cutting their dykes, and inundating the country, in order to preserve their

independence. At sea they contended on more equal terms with their enemies; and in an obstinate action off Solbay, their celebrated admiral, De Ruyter, who commanded the fleet of the states, nobly maintained the honour of their flag, and added to his former reputation. The combined fleets of England and France, consisting of about a hundred and fifty-eight sail,* were ranged in three squadrons: the red was commanded by the duke of York, high admiral of England: the white, by the count D'Etrees, the French admiral; and the blue, by the earl of Sandwich. The Dutch fleet, which was composed of seventy-two sail of the line and forty frigates and fire-ships, was also in three divisions:—De Ruyter, the commander in chief, was opposed to the duke of York: Bankert, to count D'Etrees; and Van Ghent, to the earl of Sandwich. Historians

May 28th,
A. D. 1672.

have given various and contradictory relations of the particulars of this memorable action; but on the whole it appears, that on both sides were displayed all the art and skill which experience had taught their commanders and officers; that they fought with equal bravery—with almost equal loss; and that both laid claim to the victory. The

* Bannage, 2. p. 206.

duke of York was so vigorously attacked by admiral Ruyter, that his ship, being totally disabled, he was obliged to hoist his flag on board of the *London*. The *Royal James*, on board of which was the earl of Sandwich, admiral of the blue, after having sunk two of the enemy's ships, being unable to disengage himself from a third, blew up with the earl and all his crew.* His opponent, admiral Van Ghent, also was killed. Some writers say that three ships were lost on each side; others assert that two of the English ships were burned, three sunk, and one taken; and that of the French, one was burned and one sunk. The historians of each party pretend that their fleet gained the victory, and chased that of the enemy. And both at London and the Hague, rejoicings were made for the success of the action.

In consequence of the test act, which had now been passed by the parliament, all the catholic officers quitted their places; and the duke of York having resigned the office of high admiral, the command of the fleet was conferred on prince Rupert.† The Dutch

* Of the thousand men who composed her crew, six hundred had already been killed on the deck. Tindal's *Notes on Rapin*, 2. p. 664.

† Thomas, now lord Clifford, also resigned the office of high treasurer.

admiral, De Ruyter, believing that the English were not yet ready for sea, sailed to the mouth of the Thames with forty-two ships of war and sixteen large vessels, which he intended to sink in the river, in order to impede the navigation to London ; but finding that a superior force was coming to attack him, he was obliged to desist from his undertaking. Prince Rupert then joined the French fleet, and the naval campaign was signalized by May 29, June 4, and Aug. 11, A. D. 1673. three engagements, in which the loss was so equally balanced, that neither the confederates nor the Dutch could justly boast of the victory, though it was claimed by both sides in each action. In the last of these engagements, which was the most obstinate, the Dutch lost vice-admiral Sweers, and the English vice-admiral Spragg, who was drowned, his barge being sunk by a cannon shot while he was changing his ship.

The parliament, which had now sat more than twelve years, had hitherto acted in perfect unison with the court. At last, however, the conduct of the king and his ministers, began to be considered as diametrically opposite to the interests of the nation, since the ruin of the Dutch could only tend to the aggrandizement of France. Charles had, by his profusion, exhausted his finances ; and

perceiving that the parliament was not inclined to grant him any further supplies, found himself obliged, though with great

reluctance, to conclude a peace with
A. D. 1674.

the states, who among other articles agreed to pay him two hundred thousand pounds towards the expences of the war. After the conclusion of the peace, Charles offered his mediation between the states and Louis XIV. The affair being embarrassed by all the complicated manœuvres of political artifice and diplomatic intrigue, remained

long in suspense, and the parlia-
A. D. 1677.

ment addressed the king to declare war against France, but in vain ; for he was entirely devoted to the interests of that crown : he regularly received its money as a pensioner, and hoped by its influence and power to render himself absolute.

The remainder of this reign presents a disgusting scene of the intrigues of parties, and of plots and conspiracies, of which the developement has baffled all the efforts of historians. The animadversions of parliament, which had formerly been directed against the presbyterians, was now turned against the catholics, who had long possessed an unlimited influence at court. As there was no longer any hope of the king having issue, his brother,

the duke of York, was the presumptive heir to the crown, and the head of the catholic party. His well known zeal for his religion alarmed the protestants, and gave them reasons to apprehend, that if ever he ascended the throne, he would endeavour to establish it by force. The rage of parties being now at its height, Charles, who dreaded the prospect of a civil war, offered many concessions to avoid it, and proposed that such restrictions should be laid on his successor as might seem to secure the peace of the church and the kingdom. Many of the members of the parliament, however, were determined that the duke of York should never reign. The hostile parties now went to work, intent on each others destruction, and plots and counterplots attracted the attention of the parliament and the people. Titus Oates, an infamous and indigent adventurer, inspired by the hope of making his fortune, pretended to discover a plot of the catholics to murder the king and establish their religion.* His testimony was supported by associates as abandoned and

A. D. 1677.

* Titus Oates had been a clergyman of the church of England : he afterwards embraced the socinian doctrines : he then turned catholic, and entered into the society of jesuits at St. Omer's. For his moral character see Dr. Burnet, p. 425.

profligate as himself. Though nothing could be more ridiculous and contradictory than many parts of their narrative, the commons took fire at this pretended conspiracy : they petitioned for removing the queen, rewarded Oates with a pension of twelve hundred pounds, and immediately ordered the conspirators to be brought to trial. The aged lord Stafford, Coleman, secretary to the duke of York, with several jesuits and other catholics, were publicly executed. At this day, however, when the prejudices of those unhappy times are extinct, and men can judge with impartiality, it is universally believed that they were condemned on perjured evidence, and that the whole plot was a fiction. The duke of York, in order to avoid the storm, was obliged to fly into foreign parts ; and the queen herself escaped its effects with difficulty. A bill was brought into parliament for excluding the duke of York from the succession ; but although it passed in the House of Commons, it was rejected in the House of Lords by a great majority.

The catholics, in the mean while, were not idle. They made use of every artifice to counteract the designs of their enemies, and to retaliate the injuries which they had

received. For this purpose they contrived a plot, the object of which was to assassinate the earl of Shaftsbury,* and to accuse the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Essex, the duke of Monmouth, and several others, of a conspiracy against the king. Another part of their design was, by the aid of false witnesses, to convict Oates of perjury and sodomy, and thus to take away his life by the same kind of evidence by which he had effected the destruction of so many of their fraternity. This was called the Meal Tub Plot, from the circumstance of its plan, in writing, being discovered in a meal tub; but Dangerfield, one of the principal agents, discovered the fraud, and the mischief was checked in embryo. The court and catholic party, however, acquired an increase of power; and the duke of York being sent for by the king, returned in triumph to London.

Never was the rage of parties carried to a greater height than at this intriguing period; and every thing seemed to threaten a renewal of the troubles from which the kingdom had been lately set free. The commons having wearied the king by presenting addresses,

* The earl of Shaftsbury had been one of the Cabal; but to avoid being impeached by the parliament, he had abandoned the court party, and put himself at the head of the opposition.

requiring the punishment of catholics, and by bringing in bills for limiting the royal prerogative, and excluding the duke of York from the succession, had induced him to dis-

Jan. 18th,
A. D. 1681.

solve the parliament, which he considered as having abused its power. At the same time he summoned another parliament, and appointed Oxford for the place of its meeting. Three religious parties now divided the nation—the catholics, who were supported by all the influence and power of the court: the presbyterians, who, under colour of providing for the preservation of liberty, really intended the destruction of the church, and, in order to accomplish their design, were pursuing the same measures as in the preceding reign; and the episcopalians, or adherents of the church of England, who, being terrified at the prospect of falling into the same state from which they had been recently and almost miraculously delivered, dreaded the re-establishment of presbyterianism more than the introduction of popery, which they considered as a distant and uncertain evil, and therefore throwing themselves desperately into the court party, were strenuous advocates for the doctrines of divine right and passive obedience. From these religious divisions were formed two great political

parties, the Tories and the Whigs : the former was composed of all the catholics, all the rigid high church men or episcopalians, and all those who were totally indifferent to religion, and whose expectations were centered in the court; and it must be observed that the number of these last was never greater in England: the whig party consisted of a few churchmen, and of all the presbyterians, of whom not a few were tainted with republican principles. These composed the great mass of the people, and consequently on them the elections depended. The citizens of London, therefore, re-elected their old members, who had distinguished themselves by their opposition to the court. Most of the other boroughs followed the example of the metropolis; and the king, to his great mortification, met the same parliament that he had so recently dissolved.

The suspicious and turbulent spirit of this parliament, shewed itself on its meeting at Oxford. Most of the members
March 21st,
A. D. 1681. came armed and attended by their friends and adherents, as if they expected to fight and not to deliberate: the representatives of London, in particular, were guarded by a numerous body of horse, wearing cockades, in which were interwoven these words, "No popery. No slavery." To declaim against

popery had been the voice of faction during the reign of Charles I. and such it was at the present period: it had been the forerunner of those fatal commotions which brought that unfortunate monarch to the scaffold; and Charles II. might justly apprehend their repetition. The turbulence of the parliament, indeed, was now carried to an extreme: the commons insisted that the duke of York should not only be excluded from the succession, but that he and all the considerable catholics should be banished, and their children educated in the protestant religion.

At this moment, when every thing seemed to threaten an immediate renewal of the horrible scenes of the preceding reign, the aspect of affairs was suddenly and almost miraculously changed. Charles plainly perceiving that nothing but a civil war was to be expected from the animosity which existed between the court and the country party, took the vigorous measure of dissolving the parliament, which had sat only seven days, with a firm resolution of never calling another. This stroke, which was unexpected, proved decisive: Charles, with a word, dispelled the danger with which himself and the kingdom was threatened, and posterity must be astonished to see a prince, who had ex-

perienced so determined an opposition from his parliament, on a sudden become absolute, without a fleet, without an army, and without foreign assistance. In order to justify his conduct, in dissolving the parliament, Charles published a declaration, which, by the advice of the archbishop of Canterbury, was ordered to be read in all the churches of England.* Addresses immediately flowed in from all parts of the kingdom, approving the dissolution of the parliament and of all the measures of the court. Some of these addresses not only thanked the king but were filled with violent invectives against the late House of Commons.†

In Scotland the king obtained an easier triumph than in England. The parliament of that kingdom, being opened by the duke of York as king's commissioner, passed several acts in perfect unison with the views of the court. And a letter was sent to the king, subscribed by seven bishops, filled with the praises of the duke of York, and describing the happiness of the church of Scotland under his administration. Thus the duke of York, though a furious zealot for the catholic religion, was by these prelates represented as the

* Burnet, p. 500.

† Echard, 3. p. 627.

chief support and protector of the protestant church.

Charles being now left at liberty to pursue his own maxims of government, threw off the mask, and ordered that the laws against the presbyterians should be rigorously executed. All the judges, magistrates, governors, and lord lieutenants, of the whig party, were removed from their offices, and the most violent tories put in their places. These men were zealous for the execution of those intolerant laws which had been for some years suspended; and the presbyterians saw themselves exposed to all the rigours of persecution.* The clergy, at the same time, distinguished themselves by their attachment to the principles and maxims of the court; and the pulpits resounded with the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance. The same doctrines were supported by all the judges and lawyers, and sanctioned by numerous addresses from different parts of the kingdom. Thus both clergy and laity concurred in their endeavours to render the king absolute; and if he had not fortunately been more attentive to his pleasures than to the business of govern-

* Charles did not persecute the presbyterians out of hatred to their religion, but on account of their republican principles.

ment, and the exercise of power, he might have ruled England with the despotism of an eastern monarch. In several respects, however, his government was sufficiently arbitrary. Under the pretext that the corporation of London had violated its charter, he intimidated the common council to surrender the privileges of the city. He then restored the charter after having subjected the election of the magistrates to his immediate authority ; and by this measure he became absolute master of the metropolis.

A. D. 1683.

Such a state of things could not fail of exciting the murmurs of the whigs ; and the tories apprehending their resentment, the spirit of party again began to work with infernal malevolence. The duke of Monmouth, the king's natural son, the earl of Essex, the lords Shaftsbury, Russell, and Grey, the famous Algernoon Sidney, and several others were accused of forming a conspiracy for assassinating the king and the duke of York, and to raise a general insurrection. The earl of Shaftsbury had previously absconded: Monmouth and some others also made their escape: the rest were seized and committed to prison. The earl of Essex was soon after found with his throat cut in the Tower: some circumstances induced a belief

that he was murdered; but the coroner's inquest brought in a verdict of "*Felo de se*," and the suicide being urged as a proof of his guilt, was used as a corroboration of the evidence against the other conspirators. The lord Russell, Algernoon Sidney, capt. Walcot, and some others were condemned on evidence which has been generally considered as perjured, or at least as extremely defective; and the proceedings on their trials were such as, in these happy times, under the auspices of a patriot king and uncorrupt judges, are not seen to take place in a British court of justice. It is, indeed, supposed, by many, that this pretended protestant plot was as false as that which Oates and his confederates had formerly imputed to the catholics. The plots, counter-plots, perjuries, and treasons of those iniquitous times, are enveloped in a black and obscure cloud, which often renders the truth inaccessible to historical investigation. The earls of Essex and Shaftsbury, and the lord Russell, had been the most violent opposers of the duke of York, and the chief promoters of the bill of exclusion, and Algernoon Sidney was a man of determined republican principles. Russell and Sidney asserted their innocence, and died with great resolution. The duke of Monmouth threw him-

self on the king's mercy and received his pardon.*

During the prosecution of those real or pretended conspirators, the university of Oxford distinguished itself in a particular manner among the advocates of the court, by a condemnation in form of twenty-seven propositions, collected out of several authors who had written on political subjects, and had advanced principles hostile to regal power.† The king being thus supported, and his measures approved by all the constituted authorities, had only to establish, on a firm basis, the power which he had so lately acquired. For this purpose he made use of various expedients. One of these was the abandonment and demolition of the town, castle, and mole of Tangier. By this he was not only freed from a large annual expence, but his power was considerably strengthened by the return of the garrison, which was chiefly composed of catholic officers and soldiers. Rigorous prosecutions were also carried on against all who had spoken too freely of the king, or the duke of York.

* The duke was said to have confessed some particulars of the conspiracy, but not any design of murdering the king.

† These propositions are given at length by Rapin ; and it is evident that some of them were false, fanatical, and dangerous. Vide Rapin, 2. p. 731.—This year, July 28th, the princess Anne, afterwards queen, daughter of the duke of York, was married to prince George of Denmark.

Among these was John Dutton, esq. who was convicted of speaking approbriously of the duke of York—and the infamous Titus Oates, against whom the duke brought an action of *Scandalum magnatum*. Each of them was condemned to pay damages to the duke of York to the exorbitant amount of a hundred thousand pounds—a sentence which, from their incapability of payment, subjected them to perpetual imprisonment. The prosecutions of this kind were numerous, and the fines unreasonable and exorbitant. The whole kingdom being struck with terror, Charles, by the advice of the duke of York, resolved to establish his power so as to have nothing to fear from any future opposition. This was effected in the most politic manner, by engaging all the corporations to surrender their charters, and to receive such new ones as the king should please to grant. The tories were ready to forward all the designs of the court: the whigs were intimidated into a compliance with the royal demand; and thus the English nation peaceably surrendered all its rights and privileges, of which the acquisition and preservation had cost ages of contest and oceans of blood.

Most historians ascribe all the measures of Charles, for the attainment of absolute power, to the counsels of the duke of York. The

king was easy and indolent, addicted to pleasure, and averse to business: the duke was active, resolute, and persevering; and having gained an entire ascendancy over his brother, he directed the councils, and moved all the wheels of government. The time, indeed, was approaching, when he was no longer to act behind the scene, but to sway that sceptre which he had made it his principal study to render despotic. At a moment when such an event was little expected,

Feb. 6th,
A. D. 1685.

Charles II. died of an apoplexy, or something resembling that disorder, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-sixth of his reign. There was some suspicion that he was poisoned, and different opinions were entertained on the subject without any substantial foundation: Welwood and Burnet describe the symptoms of his disease, and the manner of his death; but, in regard to the circumstance of poison, they detail only vague conjectures.

Charles II. had a constitution extremely healthful and robust, and he was careful to preserve it by regimen and exercise. As these circumstances excited an expectation that his life would be long, they corroborated the opinion that his death, at so early an age, was not natural. But our experience of

the course of mortality, founded on numberless instances, shews the uncertainty of such calculations. His character has been variously depicted by historians, writing under the influence of passion and prejudice. This, however, is no more than what must be expected from that party spirit which so violently prevailed in his reign, and was transmitted to the succeeding generation. But while the tories labour to embellish, and the whigs to blacken the portrait, the principal features are sufficiently distinguishable amidst the diversity of colouring. Charles II. was endowed with a lively wit, a ready conception, an exquisite judgment, and a great penetration. He was well skilled in maritime affairs and naval architecture, and perfectly understood both the commercial interests of his kingdom, and the political interests of the different states of Europe. If it be also considered that he had acquired, in the school of adversity, and amidst the vicissitudes of fortune, an accurate knowledge of mankind, it may be fairly concluded, that few princes have possessed, in a more eminent degree, the qualifications requisite for government. These, however, were rendered useless by his attachment to pleasure, and his aversion to business. His mistresses both occupied his time and consumed his

treasures. His indolence caused him to commit the direction of affairs entirely to his ministers, and especially to his brother, the duke of York, to whose influence may justly be ascribed all the principal transactions of this reign. His prodigality, which rendered him always indigent, impelled him not only to sell Dunkirk, but to become a pensioner of Louis XIV. and an instrument of the aggrandizement of France. And, indeed, it was the great misfortune of this reign, that the court and the kingdom always had separate and diametrically opposite interests.

The moral and religious character of Charles has scarcely one trait that is entitled to praise. His whole life was a scene of licentiousness: his dissimulation and ingratitude have been equally the subject of censure; the former, however, is too often found necessary in the complexity of political intrigue; but in Charles it was rendered more conspicuous by his extreme affability, and the liberality of his promises, which were no sooner made than forgotten: the latter might, in some degree, be owing to the great number of persons to whom he was under an obligation for their services in restoring him to the throne—a circumstance which rendered it impossible to recompence all his benefactors. He had also

imbibed a maxim which, although not very favourable to human nature, was probably the result of his experience of the licentiousness and selfishness of mankind, and seems to have considerably influenced his conduct. He believed that there was not in the world any such thing as either sincerity or chastity founded in principle; but that some few had one or the other through caprice or vanity. As such a view of human nature led him to consider all mankind as acting only from self-interest, he supposed that no one served him from love; and this maxim extinguishing the sense of obligation, he set himself at quits with the world by loving others as little as he thought that they loved him. He was extremely agreeable in conversation; and those who speak the most unfavourably of him in other respects, acknowledge him to have been the most polite man of his age.

As to his religion, if we may credit the assertion of his successor, Charles was a catholic. Dr. Burnet also considers it as a matter beyond all dispute, and affirms, that the king, on the approach of death, refused the sacrament when offered by the bishop of London, but received it from the hands of a catholic priest. But if, as that author affirms, Charles made no scruple of frequently receiving the

communion both in the protestant and the catholic chapels on the same day, his conduct must be considered as an instance of hypocrisy unparalleled in the history of religious duplicity. The earl of Mulgrave, who knew the king well, considers him as a deist, and says, that if he seemed to be a little biassed towards the Romish religion, it was only to be imputed to his easiness of temper, and his complaisance for the company which he was obliged to keep during his exile, as well as to the mortifications which he afterwards experienced from his parliaments, whose violent opposition to several of his measures, induced him to throw himself into the arms of a catholic party remarkable in England for its loyalty. In his speeches in parliament he always pretended an extraordinary zeal for the church of England; but, although he did not love the presbyterians, whom he regarded as fanatics, he long opposed their persecution. Towards the end of his reign he ordered the laws, which the parliament had enacted against them, to be rigorously executed; but this was because he considered them as enemies to his prerogative. And indeed, he never shewed any regard for religion, except in making use of its name for political purposes.

The libertinism of the king had a decided influence on the court, which, during this reign, was a theatre of licentiousness. The people followed the example of the court: all appearance of devotion, and all regularity of morals, were regarded as puritanical, and exploded as unfashionable. Never was more fully exemplified, the observation of Cicero on the influence of the conduct of superiors on national manners.* Religion was ridiculed: libertinism was considered as a proof of loyalty; and sobriety as a mark of disaffection.

But if the profligacy of the times presents a disgusting picture, the increase of the national commerce, during this reign, may be contemplated with pleasure. Great numbers of protestants, banished from France, settled in England, and introduced their arts: various manufactures were brought to perfection: colonies flourished; and money became so plentiful that the price of land rose from twelve to sixteen or eighteen year's purchase. But nothing can exhibit a more striking proof of the activity of the national commerce, at this period, than the expeditious restoration of the metropolis after the great

* *Cupiditatibus principum et vitis infici solet tota civitas.* Cic. de Leg. lib. 3. cap. 15.

conflagration. Notwithstanding the incalculable loss of property occasioned by that dreadful calamity, the obstruction of trade, and the enormous expence of re-building the city, the enterprising activity which pervaded the mercantile world, soon surmounted these difficulties ; and London, in a few years, not only regained its former commerce, but saw its suburbs greatly extended. The conflagration, indeed, proved the means of extirpating a more tremendous and lasting calamity. The plague which, during a series of ages, had repeatedly, and sometimes with very short intervals, visited London, and made the most terrible havock among its inhabitants, never made its appearance after the city was re-built on a more open and airy plan.* Thus, through a gracious dispensation of providence, the greatest misfortune that ever befel the British

* Before the conflagration the streets of London were extremely narrow, and the houses in general constructed of timber, lath, and plaster, with each story projecting over another ; so that the uppermost, on the opposite sides of the streets, almost met. This mode of building, by confining the air, and excluding the light, gave to the city the appearance of an immense dungeon, and made it a nursery for the pestilence and other contagious diseases. But it is greatly to be lamented, that the magnificent plan offered by Sir Christopher Wren was rejected. See Pennant's London, p. 287. If the designs of that celebrated architect had been carried into effect, the British metropolis would have now been the most beautiful, superb, and commodious city on the face of the globe. But the general confusion and distress rendered a regard to present circumstances more powerful than any remote considerations.

metropolis, was converted into the greatest of blessings. It may not be amiss to conclude our reflections on this reign, by observing, that amidst all the misconduct with which the memory of Charles II. has been perhaps too severely branded, impartial history must acknowledge, that under his auspices, the art of ship-building was carried to a higher degree of perfection than it had ever before attained; and that the royal navy of England owes some of its greatest improvements to the skill which he and his brother, the duke of York, had acquired in maritime affairs, and particularly in naval architecture.*

* Within the space of thirty years the royal navy was doubled. Campbell's Polit. Survey, 2. p. 538.

JAMES II.



WITHIN a few hours after Charles II. had resigned his last breath, his brother, the duke of York, was proclaimed king by the name of James II. and notwithstanding the efforts which had formerly been made for his exclusion, all opposition seemed to vanish at his accession. As he had long governed the kingdom in the name of his brother, the members of the privy council and all the persons in office were his creatures. The whig party was entirely depressed, and the tories, who were triumphant, considered the arbitrary power, introduced in the late reign, as the surest means of keeping their adversaries in subjection. James, therefore, ascended the throne with every advantage, with all the power and interest of the kingdom in his favour, and might, with a moderate share of discretion, have reigned more absolute than any of his predecessors. At first, indeed, he promised to protect and support the religion and laws of his country. His declaration on this subject, addressed to the privy council,

which was entirely composed of persons devoted to his interests, was received with great applause. It was printed and dispersed among the people. Great care was taken to extol the king's extreme affection for his subjects; and his strict observance of his word was so industriously propagated, that some, supposing it to be impossible that he should ever falsify his promises, began, rather prematurely, to give him the title of James the just. In the mean while the counties, cities, boroughs, and universities, poured in their addresses to congratulate him on his accession; and the most flattering manifestations of loyalty appeared in every part of the kingdom.

James and his queen were crowned
A. D. 1685. on the 23d of April; but the ceremony was attended with much less pomp than had often been seen on similar occasions. By this parsimony a saving was made of sixty thousand pounds, and the frugal disposition of the king was equally displayed in the funeral of his brother, which was celebrated with little parade and expence. On the day of the king's coronation at London, the parliament of Scotland met at Edinburgh. The duke of Queensbury presented a letter from the king, and seconded it by a speech, in

which he assured them of his Majesty's resolution to protect and maintain the religion established by law, and the rights and properties of his subjects, adding that the king expected them in return to assert the prerogatives of the crown, and to establish his revenue as amply as that of his predecessor. To all this the parliament returned a humble and submissive answer, promising to act in every thing as the king desired, so that the session passed with the greatest tranquillity and harmony.

The change of times and circumstances, however, was severely felt by two individuals, deservedly odious to the king, and the catholics, and, indeed, to all men of honour and probity. These were the infamous Titus Oates, and Dangerfield, the chief contriver and discoverer of the meal tub plot in the last reign. Oates was prosecuted for perjury, and convicted on two points of his evidence in regard to the popish plot. On the first indictment he was convicted by the testimony of twenty witnesses from St. Omer's, who proved that he was at that place on the 24th of April, 1678, the very day that he swore that he attended at the grand consult at London.* On the

* These witnesses had deposed the same thing in 1678, but the jury paid no regard to their evidence: in 1685 it was not in the least disputed.—Rapin, 2. p. 743. This shews how little regard can be had to the legal decisions of those iniquitous times.

second indictment it was also proved, by the evidence of above forty witnesses, nine of whom were protestants, that father Ireland was in Staffordshire at the very time when Oates deposed that he was in London. Oates was convicted on both these indictments and condemned to a punishment infinitely worse than death.* His sentence was, that he should pay a thousand marks on each indictment: that he should, on the following Monday, stand in the pillory before Westminster-Hall, with a paper in his hand, declaring his crime, and on Tuesday before the Royal Exchange: that on Wednesday he should be whipped from Aldgate to Newgate, and on Friday from Newgate to Tyburn: that he should be kept in perpetual confinement, and that he should stand in the pillory four times every year during his life. This severe sentence was rigorously carried into execution; and the flagellations were performed with such cruelty, that his escaping with life, after suffering such torments, was regarded almost as a miracle. The extreme severity of the sentence, and the execution, caused many to think that, in both, vengeance had a greater share than justice; but if Oates had actually

* It is to be observed, that the chief justice Jefferies, before whom Oates was tried, had, in 1678, declared that the verdict against the five Jesuits was just, Rapin, *ubi supra*.

taken away so many innocent lives by false evidence, no punishment could be too severe for such a delinquent. In criminal cases mercy to the guilty is cruelty to the public.

Dangerfield was next put to his trial, and, being convicted of publishing a scandalous libel, was condemned to stand twice in the pillory, to be whipped from Aldgate to Newgate one day, and from Newgate to Tyburn on another, and to pay a fine of five hundred pounds. But how little soever the fate of these miscreants may seem worthy of compassion, all good men will regret the harsh treatment experienced by Dr. Richard Baxter, a presbyterian minister, famous for his pious and voluminous writings. Being prosecuted for publishing a book intitled a Paraphrase on the New Testament, in which it was pretended that there were several seditious passages, he was sentenced, by the chief justice Jefferies, to be fined five hundred marks, to be imprisoned until it was paid, and to find securities for his good behaviour for seven years. These trials, especially that of Baxter, were conducted by Jefferies in so intemperate a manner as plainly indicated his malevolence towards the accused.

On the 19th of May the English parliament met. All historians agree that this

parliament was entirely composed of persons conspicuous for their loyalty, who flattering themselves that the king would never swerve from his promises to respect the religion and laws of his country, considered the strengthening of his power as the most effectual means of depressing the whigs, and the most signal service that could be rendered to the kingdom.* In this view the English parliament granted to James an annual revenue of more than two millions.† The parliament of Scotland displayed an equal zeal for the support of his grandeur and authority, by granting him, during his life, the yearly sum of two hundred and sixty thousand pounds, and passing some acts which tended to confirm his power. Thus every thing contributed to render the commencement of this reign as favourable as possible.

But these were not the only proofs which both the English and the Scotch gave of their loyalty. The duke of Monmouth, the natural son of Charles II. undertook to wrest the sceptre from the hand of his uncle; and, in this rash attempt, he was seconded by the

* Echard, 3. p. 744. Burnet, however, says, that all arts had been used to manage elections, and that there were not above forty members who were not chosen by the interest of the court. Burnet, p. 638.

† His whole revenue is said to have amounted to above two millions and a half. R. Coke, 2. p. 337.

earl of Argyle, who was then in a state of exile. The earl made a descent in Scotland, where he thought that his name and his credit would gain him crowds of adherents; but he soon found his expectations disappointed. A very small number joined his standard; and the parliament, which was then sitting, passed an act enjoining all subjects of Scotland to assert the royal prerogative, whenever it should be required, under pain of exile or imprisonment. The English parliament also declared their resolution to assist his majesty, with their lives and fortunes, against the earl of Argyle and all other traitors. In the mean while, the earl, who had not been able to muster above two or three thousand men, was informed that a great number of troops, under the duke of Gordon, the marquis of Athol, the earls of Dumbarton and Arran, and other commanders, were advancing to surround him; and finding himself incapable of maintaining the contest, was obliged to seek safety in flight. Being hotly pursued from place to place, he was at last taken prisoner, and conducted to Edinburgh, where his head was cut off, and affixed to the Toll-booth of the city. Several of his principal officers shared his fate; and thus the king, without any trouble or expence on his part, saw himself freed from the danger

with which he had been threatened in that quarter.

Within a few days after the landing of the earl of Argyle in Scotland, the duke of Monmouth, with about eighty followers, landed near Lime, in Dorsetshire; and immediately proceeding to the town, was received without opposition. Here he published a manifesto filled with most virulent accusations against the king, imputing to him all the mischiefs that had been done in the preceding reign—as “the burning of London, the two wars with the Dutch, the alliance with France, the popish plot, the murder of Godfrey, and the Rye-house or protestant plot.” He then proceeded to what “the duke of York had done since he assumed the title of king.” This part of the manifesto breathed the same spirit of virulence. He even accused James of poisoning the late king, his brother. He also affirmed that his own mother was the lawful wife, and himself the legitimate son of Charles II. But at the same time he declared that “he did not take arms to revenge his own wrongs, but solely to support the religion and laws of his country.” This impudent and imprudent manifesto was not likely to obtain belief; and he ought to have considered that, in case of misfortune,

it would effectually preclude all hopes of pardon.

The king had no sooner communicated to the parliament the intelligence of this invasion, than the two houses presented an address assuring him of their assistance. The commons immediately proceeded to a bill of attainder against the duke of Monmouth, at the same time requesting the king to issue a proclamation, promising a reward of five thousand pounds to any one that should bring him in either dead or alive; and so unanimous were the members, in their demonstrations of loyalty, that the bill of attainder passed through both houses with the greatest rapidity, and the sum of four hundred thousand pounds was voted as an extraordinary supply on this occasion. The militia of the western counties was mustered with speed; and the regular troops, with the royal guards, forming a body of two thousand infantry and seven hundred horse and dragoons, were placed under the command of the earl of Feversham. The duke of Monmouth's forces, however, increased to two thousand men in three or four days. Advancing into the country he compelled the duke of Albemarle, who commanded a body of four thousand militia, to retreat. Encouraged by this

success, the duke of Monmouth advanced to Taunton, where he was received with great demonstrations of popular joy, and proclaimed king of England with loud acclamations. He then began his pretended reign with three proclamations: in the first he proclaimed the king, whom he stiled duke of York, an usurper, and promised a reward of five thousand pounds to any that should bring him either dead or alive: by the second he declared the parliament, then sitting, a seditious assembly, and empowered his subjects to seize any of the members as rebels and traitors if they did not separate within a limited time: the third denounced the duke of Albemarle, who commanded the militia, a rebel and traitor.

The duke of Monmouth, whose forces were now increased to the number of five thousand, resolved to surprise the earl of Feversham, who, with his little army, lay encamped at Sedgemore, near Bridgewater. His approach, however, was discovered in time sufficient to enable the earl to prepare for his reception. The duke of Monmouth's horse, though superior in number, was routed at the first charge. But the duke, at the head of the infantry, fought with great bravery, till at length being charged by the king's horse,

and deserted by his own, he was obliged to seek safety in flight. Two days after the battle he was found in a ditch hid among fern, with some green peas in his pocket to serve him for food. Although he had displayed a considerable degree of courage in the field, he no sooner saw himself a prisoner than he sunk into the same pusillanimity that he had discovered after the Rye-house plot, in the preceding reign, and wrote a letter to the king begging for pardon in the same abject manner as on that occasion. But here his submission was not equally successful; his solicitations for pardon were rejected. What monarch indeed, of any country or age, would have pardoned a rebel who had not only attempted to rob him of his crown, but had, in his virulent manifestos, brought against him such horrible accusations. Turner, bishop of Ely, and Ken, bishop of Bath and Wells, were appointed to attend the duke till his execution took place. On the scaffold he declared that he died in the faith of the church of England. But here he was interrupted by the two bishops, who told him that to be a member of the church of England he must believe the doctrine of non-resistance.* The duke answered, that he could not believe

* Rapin, 2. p. 740.

that tenet, and laying his head on the block, he received five strokes before it was severed from his body. Thus perished this unfortunate prince, a victim to his own indiscreet ambition.

But although the fate of the duke of Monmouth was the natural consequence of his imprudent temerity, and his punishment consistent with the laws and the practice of all nations and ages, the cruelties exercised on his deluded followers were disgraceful to the victors and shocking to humanity. The lord chief justice Jefferies was sent into the west, with a special commission, to try all who had been directly or indirectly concerned in the rebellion; and major-general Kirk was ordered to attend him with a body of troops, to keep the people in awe. It was impossible to find in the whole kingdom two men more destitute of religion, honour, or humanity. To detail the cruelties of these two tigers in human shape would be disgusting to the reader: even a few instances of their savage barbarity will blacken and disfigure the pages of history. Neither men nor women were spared. It suffices to say that Jefferies condemned no fewer than six hundred persons to be hanged,* and their quarters to be exposed

* *Barnet*, p. 648.

by the sides of the highways. He even gloried in his barbarity, and boasted that he had hanged more men than any judge in England since the days of William the Conqueror. He would even have carried still farther his insatiate cruelty, had not many purchased their lives at the expence of their estates. One gentleman gave him £14,000. to save his life; and those, who were not sufficiently rich to purchase their pardons at his price, were hanged, or cruelly whipped, or sold for slaves to the American plantations. Kirk was not behind Jefferies in tyranny. At Taunton, he caused nineteen persons, by his own authority, without any trial, to be hanged, with drums beating and trumpets sounding; and another time, at the same place, having invited his officers to dinner, he caused thirty condemned persons to be hanged, while they sat at table, namely, ten in a health to the king, ten in a health to the queen, and ten in a health to the lord chief justice Jefferies. Some other of his actions make it appear that no monster in human shape ever surpassed him in unfeeling barbarity, and if they were distinctly related, a reader, possessing the least share of humanity, would scarcely be able to bear the disgusting recital. These horrid scenes, at the commencement of a reign, were ill cal-

culated to inspire a favourable opinion of the monarch ; and James lost an excellent opportunity of conciliating, by a well timed clemency, the affections of his people.

The king's affairs were now in so prosperous a state, that nothing seemed capable of shaking his authority. His principal enemies were destroyed : the whigs were completely humbled : the tories were triumphant ; and the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance was openly preached as an essential article of the faith of the church of England. The chief study of the parliament was to give repeated demonstrations of zeal and affection for the monarch, and to supply him with money. The king had an army sufficient to keep the people in awe. Scotland was entirely subdued to his will ; and the managers of affairs in that kingdom seemed to have only one object in view—the extension of the royal prerogative. In Ireland every thing was modelled according to his mind ; and all the princes of Europe considering him as a monarch who was able to incline the balance of power as he pleased, courted his friendship, or at least endeavoured to avoid his enmity.

The infatuated monarch, however, by an indiscreet zeal for his religion, converted these

advantages into an occasion of his own ruin. Seeing himself in the acme of prosperity; and all opposition, as he thought, laid under his feet, he considered it as a favourable opportunity for executing his grand scheme of re-establishing the catholic religion in England, and governing the kingdom by no other law than his absolute will. In this design he was encouraged by Louis XIV. whose object was to excite such internal commotions in England as might exhaust the resources of the nation, and prevent it from opposing the exorbitant aggrandizement of France. In pursuance of this long meditated project, he had, soon after his accession, dismissed the privy council of Ireland, and appointed a new one, into which were admitted several catholics; and in a short time their number was so increased as to form a majority. His next step was to establish a standing army of catholics in Ireland. Under the pretence that some mischief was to be apprehended from the duke of Monmouth's adherents in that kingdom, an order was sent to the magistrates to collect all the arms belonging to the militia, and to deposit them in magazines, for the purpose, as it was expressed, of having them in readiness for the defence of the country. The order was immediately exe-

cuted, and the protestants being by these means disarmed, colonel Richard Talbot, a zealous catholic, was empowered by the king to new model the army. Talbot having received this commission, immediately displaced many protestant officers, on various pretences, enlisted a number of catholic soldiers, and rendered the military force of Ireland almost entirely catholic. For this service, Talbot was made earl of Tyrconnel, and lieutenant-general of the army in Ireland, and soon afterwards lord lieutenant of that kingdom. The parliament of England took umbrage at the power which the king had assumed of dispensing with the test act, and employing catholic officers, in contravention to the laws of the country. After some debates, however, the parliament not only voted a bill to indemnify the catholic officers from the penalties which they had already incurred, but also offered another to qualify such a number of them as the king should desire. The condescension of the parliament was carried still further. The king had proposed to maintain a standing army of fifteen thousand men, and the two houses, although not expressly, yet tacitly gave their consent, by voting a liberal supply for its maintenance. By these proceedings, the members had given sufficient

proofs of their desire to please the king ; but James did not think them sufficient for promoting his designs. He therefore prorogued the parliament, rather than see what he claimed as a matter of right made a subject of dispute.

A. D. 1686.
and 1687.

The next two years were wholly employed by the king in attempting the execution of his grand project. At first he only pretended to procure for all sects and denominations of christians a general toleration, a measure just, humane, and benevolent, had this been his principal object. But even liberty of conscience could not be allowed by the circumstances of the times. The kingdom had recently suffered so much from religious contests, that the prevailing party, whichever it might be, could see no prospect of safety, except in depressing all others. But it appears that the king did not limit his views to a liberal toleration. All his measures evidently tended to subvert the religion and laws of the kingdom. For this, however, he found that he could not obtain the sanction of parliament: he therefore resolved to attempt it by his own authority, and he hoped to carry his point by corrupting the judges, the parliament, and the clergy. In every country there are men always ready

to sacrifice the public to their own private interest: and in England numbers of these were found, not only in the court, but among the judges and the clergy. Dr. Cartwright, an eminent protestant divine, speaking in a sermon of the king's promises to the parliament, the infraction of which was the general subject of discourse and complaint, asserted that "the royal promises were free donatives, which might not be too strictly examined, and that it ought to be left to his majesty to explain his own meaning." The king was well pleased with this gloss, and rewarded the author with the bishopric of Chester, as an encouragement to other clergymen to follow the example. One of the principal schemes of James was to gain the judges. For this purpose he sent for them separately, in order to persuade them to declare that the king had the power to dispense with the laws. Four of them refusing to comply, were immediately removed from their judicial office, and replaced by others more tractable. A similar alteration was made in the privy council, into which the king received five zealous catholics, besides the new bishop of Chester and the bishop of Oxford, both of whom were generally suspected of being strongly attached to the church of Rome.

As the parliament had refused to acknowledge the king's power to set aside the test act, he resolved to exempt from the penal laws all his subjects of every denomination. All the judges, except one, declared. "That the king had the power of dispensing with the laws, whenever he might judge it requisite." Thus, by the decision of the judges, the laws of England were given up, and the constitution entirely altered.

All the affairs of the kingdom were now managed by a privy council, composed of catholics desirous of establishing their faith, and of protestants equally devoted to the king, and ready to sacrifice their religion to their temporal interests. A new court of commission was erected with a supreme jurisdiction and authority over all ecclesiastical persons of whatever degree or dignity; as also over all universities, colleges, grammar-schools, &c. with power to alter, correct, or amend their rules and regulations. Among the commissioners were three bishops, the rest were laymen, and some of them catholics. This was considered as a revival of the high commission court, which had been abolished in the reign of Charles I. And the appointment of catholics to be members of an ecclesiastical court, erected for the purpose of

judging a protestant clergy in matters of doctrine and discipline, was certainly an impolitic measure, as it evidently shewed that the king aimed at something more than a liberal toleration.

But if any doubt had remained concerning the monarch's intentions, it must have been speedily removed by his conduct. All his measures, indeed, were too precipitate to permit his designs to be long concealed. He had hitherto pretended only to place all religions on the footing of equality. He had assiduously laboured to make proselytes to the catholic faith, and had succeeded with many persons of rank, who were ready to embrace the religion which appeared the most favoured at court. From the time that the judges had given their decision in favour of the dispensing power of the king, the only way to preferment was to be a professor of the catholic religion, or at least a promoter of its interests. But the most impolitic measure of this infatuated prince, was the sending of an embassy to the Pope, "To reconcile the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to the Holy See, from which, for more than a century, they had been separated by heresy." The ambassador was received with great coolness at Rome.

Innocent XI. more prudent than James, considered these measures as far too precipitate, and clearly perceiving that their tendency was rather to the disadvantage than to the benefit of the catholic religion, discovered an extreme unwillingness to be an actor in a farce which promised so little success, and could only serve to render him ridiculous. Indeed, nothing could be more impolitic than the sending of this embassy to Rome at this juncture: it was beginning the work where it ought to have ended.

The king, however, was not discouraged by the ill success of this embassy, and the disregard with which the Pope and the cardinals treated his project. His rash and precipitate measures were condemned by the principal catholics as detrimental to the cause of their religion; but the king was deaf to all counsels, except such as corresponded with his temper and zeal. In pursuance of his designs, he sent into Scotland a proclamation, establishing an entire liberty of conscience, except to the field conventicler, whom he left to the rigour of the laws. The council of that kingdom, composed of men devoted to his interests, not only published the proclamation, but returned an address of thanks on the occasion. This success encouraging the

king to proceed, the declaration for liberty of conscience was published in England, and was received without opposition, or rather, indeed, with applause. Addresses of thanks were presented to the king, not only from the various sects of non-conformists, but even from the clergy of the dioceses of Durham, Lincoln, Chester, Litchfield, and St. David's, who, with the approbation of their respective bishops and the privy council, took care to magnify the indulgent kindness of the king to his subjects.

If the king had proceeded no farther, the manner in which this proclamation was received by the people, affords some ground to suppose that it might have obtained the sanction of parliament, especially if the catholics and other non-conformists had shewed themselves contented with equality, without aspiring to pre-eminence. James and his council, however, were not satisfied with what was done for the catholic religion. It was, therefore, thought proper to introduce catholics into the two universities. The vice-chancellor of Cambridge was summoned before the ecclesiastical court, for refusing to admit father Francis, a benedictine monk, to the degree of master of arts. The vice-chancellor was deprived of his office; but the

university, persisted in its refusal, and the king thought it expedient to desist from his purpose. But the vice-president and fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, were treated with greater severity. They refused to admit Mr. Anthony Farmer, a catholic, and a man of a profligate life, who was appointed by the king to the office of president, now become vacant. The king then nominated the bishop of Oxford, who was also rejected as a favourer and promoter of popery. James, therefore, went in person to Oxford, and attempted to intimidate the fellows; but his menaces proved ineffectual. The fellows were, therefore, expelled by his order: their places were filled with catholics, and the bishop of Oxford was placed by force in his office of president.

On every occasion, indeed, the king discovered the extent of his designs. None were preferred to any vacant offices but those who were willing to purchase the royal favour by the sacrifice of their religion; and protestants were often displaced to make room for catholics. Almost all the lords-lieutenants of counties were catholics. Some of the judges were catholics, and the rest, though protestants, were ready to obey all the demands of the court. Many of the lawyers affected

to approve of all the king's measures, and in one of their flattering addresses wish "for the voice of men and angels to return thanks for his Majesty's condescension and clemency to his subjects." Being thus encouraged and supported, the king thought his work nearly finished, and, by his solicitations, procured the consent of the Pope to have a nuncio to reside at the court. To give more lustre to his office, the nuncio, after being consecrated archbishop of Amasia, in the royal chapel, July 3d,
A. D. 1687. made his public entry at Windsor, with great pomp and magnificence, in his pontifical robes, preceded by a cross-bearer and a train of priests and monks in the habits of their respective orders. The jesuit Hugh Peters, one of the chief promoters of all these rash measures, was placed at the head of the privy council.

During the space of three years that James had sat on the throne, he had carried on his great work with little prudence or policy, but with astonishing rapidity and success; and nothing now seemed capable of preventing its completion. He had an army of fifteen thousand men encamped near London, with promises of assistance from France in case of necessity. And what may be considered as extraordinary, protestant corporations, al-

though they saw their religion on the point of being subverted, sent addresses of thanks to the king, and publicly promised to chuse such members for the ensuing parliament as should concur with all his measures. In this prosperous state of his affairs, an useless piece of formality proved extremely prejudicial to his interests. Although his proclamation concerning liberty of conscience had been so well received, the king was not satisfied with this tacit, but general acquiescence of the clergy and the people. He, therefore, issued an order of council, enjoining the bishops to cause it to be read, at the time of divine service, in all the churches and chapels within their respective dioceses. Seven of the bishops refused to comply with this injunction, and presented to his majesty a humble petition, declaring, that their non-compliance did not originate from any objection against liberty of conscience, but only from the consideration that the measure was founded on a dispensing power, which had been declared illegal by parliament. For this petition they were cited before the council, accused of sedition, and committed to the Tower. These rigorous proceedings put an end to that passive spirit which had hitherto prevailed, and roused the indignation of the people. The

June 8th,
A. D. 1687.

trial of the bishops was regarded as the crisis of English freedom. The jury, after sitting the whole night, declared them not guilty: the joy of the people was inexpressible: the whole city and its vicinity resounded with triumphant acclamations: the news immediately flew to the camp, where the king, then sitting at dinner, heard the shouts of the soldiers with indignation and amazement.

Two days after the imprisonment of the bishops, the nation was informed of the birth of a prince of Wales.*
June 10th,
A. D. 1687. The pregnancy of the queen had long before been announced; but its reality had long been suspected by those who were weary of the tyranny of James, and wished for a change in the succession. The young prince was, therefore, regarded by some as the real son of the king and the queen; while others believed that the report of the pregnancy and delivery of the queen was only a deep laid imposture, and the child supposititious. A variety of circumstances concurred to corroborate each opinion: the spirit of the times, and the prejudices of parties, contributed to multiply arguments for strengthening or removing suspicion; and though numerous papers, and

* He was baptized by the name of James Francis Edward, and was afterwards known by the appellation of the pretender.

pamphlets were written on each side of the question, the subject has completely baffled historical investigation. It suffices, therefore, to say, that James, during his whole life, acknowledged him as his son ; and it is requisite to observe, that as his birth extinguished the claims of Mary, princess of Orange, the suspicions excited by that event, both impelled and encouraged the prince, her husband, to make a descent in England.

The king perceiving the disposition of the people, resolved at last to make use of force. But previous to so desperate a measure, it was necessary to try how far he could rely on the obedience of the army. For this purpose he thought it expedient to communicate his designs to each regiment singly, supposing, that if two or three expressed their fidelity, the others would follow their example. But the experiment was no sooner tried than his hopes were disappointed. One regiment being drawn up in his presence, he gave orders that all those who were unwilling to contribute to the repeal of the test act, should lay down their arms. But it was with the utmost astonishment that he saw the whole regiment ground their arms, except two captains and a few catholic soldiers. Opposition, however, only served to increase the infatuated zeal of

the monarch and his council. Though the bishops had been acquitted, the ecclesiastical court instituted an inquiry, in order to ascertain in what churches and chapels the king's declaration had or had not been read, and the names of the ministers who had obeyed or disobeyed his Majesty's orders. The clergy and the whole nation now saw their danger: both whigs and tories united to oppose it; and for this purpose, they could not devise a better expedient than to call in the prince of Orange.

William, prince of Orange, who had married Mary, the daughter of James, had been early involved in dangers, and long hackneyed in politics. The ambition of France, and the turbulence of Holland, had concurred to sharpen his talents, and exercise him in the arts of intrigue. He was no stranger to the murmurs of the English, and he resolved to turn them to his advantage. Two powerful motives impelled him to this resolution: the first was to secure the succession to the princess, his wife, whose claim was annulled by the appearance of a prince, who was represented to him as supposititious: the second was the extreme danger to which the united states were exposed by the close union which was forming between England and France. He, therefore,

accepted the invitation of many of the nobility and gentry, and readily entered on an enterprise which he had probably had some time in view.

A fleet was immediately equipped ; but its destination was closely concealed. The English and French envoys, at the Hague, communicated their conjectures to their respective courts. But the king of England, indulging the fatal idea of security, neglected the intelligence. And although Louis XIV. offered him an army of thirty thousand men, James refused this assistance, which he considered as unnecessary. At length, however, he began to perceive his own danger amidst the general discontent of his people; and retracted some of his measures. But it was now too late. The Dutch fleet had already sailed, and, meeting with no opposition from that of England, the prince of Orange Nov. 5th,
A. D. 1688. landed at Torbay, with an army of about thirteen thousand troops, a feeble force for so great an enterprise, had he not been assured that the English would flock to his standard.

The expectations of the prince seemed, at first, to be frustrated. The people, in general, were well affected to his cause; but the memory of the severities exercised on the duke

of Monmouth's adherents was yet so recent, that every one feared to engage in an enterprise of which the success was uncertain, and very few offered their services. The prince of Orange having advanced to Exeter, remained there ten days in anxious expectation of being joined by the malecontents. At length, when he was beginning to despair of success and to think of re-embarking his forces, he was joined by several persons of distinction; and the country people began to flock to his standard. From this time his forces were daily increased; and most of the nobles who had composed the court and the council of James, seeing his affairs begin to appear desperate, abandoned their monarch, and went over to the prince of Orange. Among these were his favourite daughter, Anne, and the prince of Denmark, her husband; so that the unfortunate prince saw himself forsaken, and his interests deserted by all.

It is somewhat astonishing that the king, who had notice of this invasion two months before it took place, had suffered a great part of his army to remain dispersed in different quarters.* Had he collected his troops in

* Besides those that were necessary for securing Portsmouth and Hull, part of the king's forces were yet in the north: The Irish remained at Chester and the Scotch at Carlisle.

the center of the kingdom, from whence they might have been ready to march to any point of the coast where the enemy had landed, and led them to the combat without allowing them time for deliberation, it is probable that they might have fought in his cause and repelled the invasion, especially as the earl of Feversham, his general, although a protestant, was entirely devoted to his interests. But the opportunity of attacking the prince with superior numbers was lost by the delay in collecting the forces. James, however, had an army encamped on Salisbury plain under the earl of Feversham, and he went to put himself at its head. But, although the fidelity of the general was unshaken, the king found that he could not rely on the officers and soldiers; and the defection of the lord Churchill, one of his principal favourites, who went over to the prince, confirmed his apprehensions.

The king now saw himself on the brink of a precipice. Not caring to trust his person with an army that was visibly disaffected to his cause, he returned with precipitation to London. He assembled the few noblemen that still adhered to his interests, and requested their advice and assistance. Addressing himself to the duke of Bedford, father of lord Russell, who was sacrificed to the vengeance

of James in the preceding reign. "My lord," said he, "you are an honest man, and have a great influence: you can do much for me at this time." To which the duke replied, "I am an old man, and can do you but little service; but," added he, with a deep sigh, "I once had a son, who, had he been alive, might have greatly assisted your majesty." The king was struck dumb by this stinging reproach and could make no reply.

The situation of the king was now like that of a ship in the midst of the ocean, tossed by tempests and without either rudder or compass. The fate of his father, Charles I. recurred to his mind, and, by the advice of his ministers, who saw themselves ruined in case that an accommodation should take place and a free parliament be called, he resolved to fly from a nation which he could no longer govern according to his will, and to take refuge at the court of France, where he was sure of protection and might hope for assistance. Pursuant to this determination he first sent away the queen and the young prince of Wales, who arrived safely at Calais. He then disguised himself in a plain dress, and went down the Thames to Feversham, where he embarked on board a small vessel for France. But he was still followed by misfortune. The

ship being detained by a storm, was boarded by the common people, and the king, being mistaken for a jesuit, was robbed and insulted. Being conducted to an inn in the town, he sent for the earl of Winchelsea, lord lieutenant of the county, who persuaded him not to leave the kingdom. A deputation was soon after sent by the lords to request him to return to Whitehall. James complied with the invitation, and was once more received in London amidst the acclamations of the people.

During the king's absence the cities of London and Westminster exhibited a scene of disorder. Although the militia was immediately in arms, it was impossible to preserve the tranquillity of the metropolis; and several catholic chapels in the city and suburbs, together with the houses of the Spanish and Florentine ambassadors were pillaged, for which ample restitution was afterwards made by the government. During these disorders the chancellor Jefferies was discovered in a seaman's dress, a disguise which he had assumed for the purpose of making his escape in a vessel freighted for Hamburgh. Jefferies, though a protestant, had been one of the chief abettors and instruments of tyranny; and his cruelties, which were recent in memory, rendered him an object of general detestation. He

was immediately seized by the mob, and to prevent being torn in pieces, requested to be sent to the Tower, which was granted in the hope of seeing him shortly conducted from thence to the gallows. His death, which happened soon after, preserved him from a public execution; but never did any man better deserve such a punishment for the mischief which he had done to his country.

The return of the king was by no means agreeable to the prince of Orange. It was his interest and his design to increase the apprehensions of the unfortunate monarch so as to induce him to fly. Advancing, therefore, to London, he sent an order to James requiring him to leave Whitehall, with a permission to take with him his guards. The king desired that Rochester might be appointed for the place of his residence, to which the prince readily consented. The prince perceived that he intended to leave the kingdom, and he wished him away as much as he wished to be gone. James soon concurred with his views. It was easy, indeed, to effect his escape, as no person had orders to stop him or hinder him from disposing of himself as he pleased. Accompanied by his natural son, the duke of Berwick, he went to the coast and embarked for France, where he

Dec. 23rd,
A. D. 1698.

safely arrived to enjoy, for the rest of his days, the empty title of a king with the appellation of a saint. There he continued to reside among a people by whom he was pitied, ridiculed, and despised; and the court of Rome, for whose interests he had sacrificed his crown and the fortune of his family, repaid his zeal with indulgences and pasquinades.

Thus ended the reign of James II. which was wholly employed in attempts to establish the catholic religion and despotic power. Though this reign had been of less than four years duration, the commerce of England had greatly increased, and the nation had never before attained to so high a pitch of prosperity. From the time of the restoration to that of the revolution, the customs and the tonnage of the merchant ships were doubled. The tonnage of the royal navy had increased in nearly the same proportion; and almost an equal augmentation had been made in the royal revenue.*

When the flight of James had left the nation in a state of anarchy, without a king, a parliament, or any system of government, the peers conceived that it belonged to them to provide for the safety of the state. Having held a

* Vide Dr. Davenant on the public revenue and trade of England, part 2. p. 41, &c.—and Campbell's Polit. Surv. 2. p. 419—539.

consultation on the subject, they presented an address to the prince of Orange, requesting him to assume the temporary administration of the government, and to summon a parliament under the name of a convention.* This request exactly coincided with the wishes of the prince: he assumed the provisional administration, issued letters to the lords spiritual and temporal, requiring them to meet in convention, and summoned the counties, cities, and boroughs to send their representatives. The convention met in two houses in the manner of a parliament, and after long and interesting debates it was finally resolved, that the king's flight was an abdication of his rights, and that the crown should be offered to the prince and princess of Orange: that in case of their acceptance the exercise of the regal office should be vested in the prince: that the survivor of them should enjoy the sovereignty after the death of the other: that the succession should devolve on their posterity, and in case of their want of issue on the princess Anne, of Denmark, and her issue. This, indeed, is one of the most important eras in English history.

* The word convention was used to denote a parliament assembled without the usual formalities, which could not take place through the want of a king.

The constitution, which had fluctuated during so many ages, was fixed: the long contested limits between the king and the people were determined: the nation, represented by its parliament, prescribed to the prince of Orange the laws by which he was to govern. The prince and the princess accepted the conditions, and were proclaimed by the titles of William III. and Mary, king and queen of England.

WILLIAM AND MARY.



THE reign of William III. commenced with attempts similar to those which had caused the misfortunes of the late monarch. William had been educated in the calvinistic religion, and he was naturally averse to persecution. His principles, as well as his disposition, prompted him to attempt the repeal of those laws that enjoined uniformity of worship;* and though he could not entirely carry his point, yet he obtained a toleration for such

* Vide Millar Eng. Gov. 3. p. 472.

dissenters as should take the oaths of allegiance, and hold no private conventicles. The catholics also experienced the lenity of William's government; and although the laws against them still subsisted, they were seldom carried into execution.

William was no sooner proclaimed king of England, than the parliament of Scotland also recognized his authority, and seized this opportunity to abolish episcopacy, which had long been disagreeable to the people. Ireland, however, continued faithful to James; and he made his public entry into Dublin amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants. The earl of Tyrconnel, the lord lieutenant, who had, as already observed, disarmed the protestants, was at the head of a catholic army devoted to the interests of the abdicated monarch. The small, but well fortified city of Londonderry, which had declared for William, was besieged by the forces of James, and reduced to the last extremity. At length a strong force arrived from England, and the army of James was compelled to raise the siege. For some time those of William's party in Ireland, were exposed to all the unnecessary cruelties of which civil wars are so fertile a source. But their sufferings were soon brought to a termination. The duke of Schomberg was sent from Eng-

land with a powerful army; and William soon after followed in person. The battle of the Boyne decided the fate of Ireland. William's army, consisting of thirty-six thousand men, was superior in numbers, and still more in discipline; but the position of the Irish was almost impregnable. Their front was protected by a morass, and the river Boyne separated them from the English army. William led on his army in person, and passing the river in three places, began the attack. The Irish, after an ineffectual resistance, fled with precipitation, having lost about fifteen hundred men: the English did not lose above five hundred; but the death of the duke of Schomberg, who was shot in crossing the river, seemed to counterbalance the numbers of the slaughtered enemies. Having been a soldier of fortune, he had fought under almost every power of Europe, and his experience and military skill rendered him one of the greatest generals of the age. James II. lost, in this battle, a great part of the reputation which he had gained when duke of York. He stood aloof during the action surrounded by some squadrons of horse. William, on the contrary, headed his own forces; and his activity and vigilance greatly contributed to secure him the victory. On this occasion an old

Irish officer was heard to say, that if the English would exchange generals, they would fight the battle over again.

A. D. 1691. After this defeat James left Ireland, and returned to France. His friends, however, resolved to support his interests. Another desperate battle was fought at Aughrim, and the forces of William were again victorious. Limerick still adhered to James, and sustained a long and bloody siege. His partizans having concentrated the principal part of their force in that city, made a brave defence; but perceiving his affairs to be desperate, they capitulated on very advantageous conditions. The Roman catholics were, by this capitulation, restored to the enjoyment of such liberty in the exercise of their religion, as they had possessed in the reign of Charles II. and those who had borne arms for James, to the amount of about fourteen thousand, being permitted to retire from Ireland, had vessels provided to carry them to France. Thus William, by encouraging the emigration of a restless and dangerous party, adopted the same means of securing the tranquillity of Ireland, as Cromwell had formerly practised.

A. D. 1692. The reduction of Limerick completed the conquest of Ireland; and

William now saw himself the undisputed sovereign of the three kingdoms. James, however, being supported by Louis XIV. was desirous of making a grand effort for the recovery of his dominions. Louis supplied the fugitive monarch with an army consisting of a strong body of French troops, some English and Scotch refugees, and the Irish regiments which had retired from Limerick to France. This army was assembled between Cherburg and La Hogue, and king James took the command in person. The French admiral, Tourville, with sixty-three ships of the line, was appointed to favour the descent. While these preparations were making in France, the court of England took every precaution against the impending danger. Admiral Russell, with ninety-nine sail of the line, besides frigates and fire-ships, met the French fleet off La Hogue. A sanguinary conflict ensued. On both sides great courage and skill were displayed : the combat continued ten hours ; but, at length, the superiority of numbers gave to the English the victory. Fifteen of the French ships of war were destroyed ; and this blow was so decisive as to establish the uncontrollable dominion of England on the ocean.

James now saw all his hopes extinguished. He passed the remainder of his days a pen-

sioner on the bounty of the French monarch, and was also occasionally assisted by the liberality of his daughter, and of his friends in England. He died in the year 1700, at St. Germain, near Paris, and superstition pretended that miracles were wrought at his tomb.

The character of this unfortunate monarch is sufficiently displayed in his history. His conduct, while duke of York, shews that he wanted neither abilities nor exertion. In his office of high admiral of England, he acquired the reputation of a consummate naval commander; and it has always been allowed, that he possessed great skill in maritime affairs. But after he ascended the throne, all his actions were marked with the characters of imprudence and headstrong precipitancy. It has often been observed, that in his contest with William, all his efforts were feeble, and his plans injudicious, and that he lost, at the battle of the Boyne, the high reputation which he had acquired in his naval combats with the Dutch. But James had far greater experience in naval than in military affairs; while William, trained up in camps, was confessedly one of the greatest generals in Europe. It must also be observed, that the army which James commanded was, both in numbers and discip-

line, greatly inferior to that of his rival. In appreciating, therefore, the character of James II. it seems that religious bigotry, and the love of arbitrary power, were his principal failings, and the source of all his misfortunes. In his zeal for the church of Rome, he forgot that he was the sovereign of a protestant kingdom. Had James been a protestant, or had his subjects been catholics, his reign might have been happy and glorious.

The victory of La Hogue had confirmed the safety of William ; but his enmity to Louis XIV. and his solicitude for the prosperity of Holland, induced him to involve England in a bloody and expensive war. To check the exorbitant power of France, was the grand object of all his political measures. For that purpose he joined the confederacy which the emperor, the king of Spain, the duke of Savoy, and the united states had formed against France, and put himself at the head of the allied army in the Netherlands. But his presence did not prevent the French king from investing the strong and important city of Namur, situated at the conflux of the Sambre and the Mæse. The citadel, which was deemed impregnable, was defended by a garrison of ten thousand men, commanded by the prince of Barbason : the duke de Luxem-

burg covered the siege : the inundations prevented the king of England from advancing to its relief ; and, after a brave resistance, the place was obliged to surrender.

William was impatient to efface the disgrace which his reputation had sustained by the capture of Namur in his sight. By his activity and vigilance he surprised the French at Steenkirk ; and the impetuosity of his attack threw their whole army into confusion. But the courage and conduct of Luxemburg, their general, changed the fortune of the day. He rallied his troops, and brought them into order of battle. He was seconded by the desperate valour of the princes of the blood ; and the king of England was at length compelled to retreat. The loss of the two armies was nearly equal : and humanity is shocked at the reflection—that not fewer than ten thousand men perished on each side, without contributing, by their death, to decide the issue of the war.

At the opening of the next campaign, the duke of Luxemburg again led the French to victory. That celebrated general, after making himself master of Huy, and menacing Liege, suddenly crossed the Jaar, and rapidly advancing, attacked the king of England in his strong position at Neerwinden. The right

of the allies was protected by the river Geete, which winded along their rear: their left, and part of their front, was covered by the brook of Landen. The conflict was long and obstinate; but the skill and genius of Luxemburg triumphed over every obstacle, and the king of England received a total defeat. Part of his right wing was driven headlong into the Geete; and besides those who perished in the river, twelve thousand of the confederates fell on the field of battle, and two thousand were made prisoners. The duke de Luxemburg purchased this victory at the expence of eight thousand of his best troops; but this loss did not prevent him from immediately forming the siege of Charleroy. The celebrated engineer, Vauban, had exerted his skill in the construction of the fortifications, and he was now employed in raising and directing the batteries of the besiegers, whose efforts were animated by the presence of Luxemburg. Nothing could withstand such a combination of military talents: after twenty-seven days of open trenches, Charleroy surrendered to the arms of France.

The death of the mareschal duke de Luxemburg, who had so greatly distinguished himself at the head of the armies of France, raised the drooping spirits of the confederates; and

William conceived new hopes of supporting Spain in the possession of the Netherlands. The recovery of Huy and Dixmude was the earnest of more splendid successes. The important city of Namur was regained nearly in the same manner in which it had been lost. William, as well as Louis, invested it in sight of an army superior to his own. It was defended by Mareschal Boufflers, with sixteen thousand veteran troops; and the mareschal duke of Villeroy, with an army of a hundred thousand men, was encamped in the vicinity. These formidable appearances, however, could not deter the English monarch from the enterprise. He pushed his attacks with such vigour, that the town was obliged to surrender in August and the citadel in September, while Mareschal Villeroy never advanced to its relief. Thus Namur was again brought under the sceptre of Spain: its recovery filled the court of Madrid with joy and exultation, and covered the king of England with glory.

While William was acquiring military fame in maintaining the balance of power on the continent, the expences of the war obliged the parliament of England to open new resources for money. A land-tax was imposed according to a valuation given in by the several counties. Those which were the most loyal

or the best cultivated gave in the highest estimate, and consequently were the most heavily taxed; and the different degrees of subsequent improvement, in different parts of the kingdom, have rendered the burden still more unequal. But this reign is particularly distinguished by that grand financial operation the funding system, which afforded the means of carrying on the war by borrowing money upon parliamentary securities, forming what are now called the public funds.* The chief projector of this scheme is said to have been Charles Montague, afterwards earl of Halifax. His principal arguments for such a measure were, that it would oblige the monied part of the nation to support the revolution, and that the weight of the taxes, necessary for paying the interest, would act as a spur to industry. A celebrated writer, however, ascribes this new financial regulation not to a view of strengthening the government but to causes of another nature. "The practice," says he, "of contracting national debts, arose from the same causes in Britain and in all the other opulent countries of Europe: from the dissipation and extravagance which are the usual

* About the same time the funding system was established in France. Vide Hen. abrégé Chronologique An. 1707.

“ effects of wealth and luxury, from an increase of activity and ambition, producing enterprises of greater extent than the ordinary revenues of the state are capable of supporting, and above all from the facility of borrowing occasioned by that great circulation of capital which is the natural consequence of trade and manufactures.”*

But to whatever causes it owes its origin, the funding system is a financial arrangement unknown to the celebrated statesmen of antiquity, and an excellent mode of providing for the extraordinary expences of government without oppressing the subject.† In the commencement of this reign, another important regulation took place in the management of the public revenue: it had been formerly left entirely in the hands of the sovereign; but it was now divided into two distinct parts, of which one was allotted to the current service of the year, and to be accounted for to parliament, the other, which is called the civil list, being assigned to the king for the support of his house and dignity, was left entirely at his disposal. The civil

* Millar's Hist. View Eng. Gov. 3. chap. 7.

† For the advantages of the funding system, and the nature and influence of the public debt, see the author's remarks in his *Historical and Geographical View of the World*, London, 1810. vol. 1. chap. 4. art. revenue.

list, granted to William, was seven hundred thousand pounds, and that of his successors has been gradually augmented.

While this monarch had to contend with the celebrated generals of Louis XIV. he met with almost as much opposition from his parliament at home as from his enemies in the field.

Although William had accepted the crown under numerous restrictions, it was still his desire to preserve, as far as possible, the prerogatives of a sovereign. In some cases he seems to have been influenced by arbitrary maxims. It was not without great reluctance that he gave his assent to the bill for triennial parliaments, and to another for regulating trials in cases of treason.* William, however, was willing to admit restraints on his prerogative, on condition of being supplied with the means of humbling the power of France. The sums granted him for this purpose were enormous, and the nation involved itself in debts which it has never since been able to discharge. But at length the eyes of the English were opened. They began to con-

* By this act the accused was allowed a copy of his indictment, and a list of the names of his jury, two days before his trial, together with counsel to plead in his defence ; and it was also provided that no person should be indicted but on the oaths of two creditable witnesses.

sider the interests of the nation as sacrificed to foreign connexions, and complained that of all the allied powers England bore the greatest share in the expences of the continental war; although she had the least concern in its issue. The murmurs of the people

A. D. 1697. at length obliged William to accede to the treaty of Ryswick, and thus to terminate a war in which England had engaged without interest, and from which she derived no advantage. In the general pacification the French monarch acknowledged the title of William; and this was the only compensation that England received for so vast an expenditure of blood and of treasure.*

On the conclusion of the war, the parliament voted that all the forces, except seven thousand men, should be immediately disbanded; and that those retained should be natural born English subjects. This was a great mortification to the king, who had always been partial to foreigners, but now saw himself compelled to dismiss his favourite Dutch guards. His discontent was so great that he is said to have conceived the design

* Mary, William's queen, died of the small pox on the 28th Dec. 1694, in the 33rd year of her age; but the sovereignty continued in his person according to the original stipulation.

of abdicating the throne; but his ministers diverted him from his resolution. His constant altercations with the parliament caused him to regard England as a place of anxiety and labour; and he used to retire to his villa at Loo, in Holland, whenever he had leisure to indulge himself in pleasure or tranquillity.

While William experienced those mortifications, the political situation of Europe attracted his attention. The health of his catholic majesty Charles II. had long been declining, and his dissolution was hourly expected. In order, therefore, to prevent the whole Spanish monarchy from being united to that of France, William concluded, with Louis XIV. the famous partition treaty, by which the dominions of Spain were to be divided between the two houses of Austria and Bourbon, both of whom had almost equal pretensions to the crown of that kingdom. This treaty, however, was considered by the parliament as extremely impolitic; and some of the ministers, to whose advice it was ascribed, were impeached, but afterwards acquitted.

The partition treaty soon appeared to be only a political manœuvre, by which Louis XIV. hoped to remove the suspicions of those

who were able to oppose the pretensions of his family. As soon as the death of Charles II. took place, a testament was produced by cardinal Porto Carero, in which his catholic majesty had nominated the duke of Anjou, grandson of the French monarch, sole heir to the crown of Spain. A. D. 1700. Louis was prepared for the event: his armies were ready to support the claim of his grandson and the testament of Charles; and the duke of Anjou was proclaimed king of Spain at Madrid by the title of Philip V. The Emperor Leopold was surprised and confounded at a transaction so contrary to his expectation; but his recent wars with France and the Ottoman Porte had exhausted his resources. His weakness, therefore, confined him to ineffectual remonstrances, and while he presented memorials and published manifestos, complaining of the injustice done to the house of Austria, that of Bourbon was seated on the throne of Spain.

It is easy to conceive that the neighbouring powers were alarmed at this increased greatness of the house of Bourbon, which now threatened Europe with chains. Of these the principal was the king of England, whose mortification, on seeing his favourite project overthrown, was so great, that, had he been

able to follow his own inclination, he would immediately have commenced hostilities with France. But though secure of the attachment of the Dutch, he was regarded with jealousy by the English parliament; and he found the people extremely averse to increase their debt and sacrifice their commerce by engaging in a new war, the objects of which they considered as of little importance to their own interests. The title of Philip V. was, therefore, formally acknowledged by England, Holland, Bavaria, and Portugal. Leopold, seeing himself without allies, appeared for some time undecided in regard to the part he should act; but a new proof of the encroaching spirit of Louis XIV. determined his conduct. That monarch having prevailed on the duke of Mantua to admit a French garrison into his capital, the emperor resolved to assert by the sword the freedom of Italy. His general, the celebrated prince Eugene, entered that country with a formidable army, and gained a complete victory over the French on the banks of the Oglio. The successes of the imperialists raised the spirits of the Austrian faction in Spain; and the emperor began to conceive some hopes of hurling Philip V. from his throne. The presumption and insincerity of Louis matured the

projects of Leopold. While the flames of war were kindled in Italy, James, the abdicated monarch of England, departed this life at St. Germain; and the French king, although he had, by the treaty of Ryswick, acknowledged the title of William, proclaimed the son of the deceased prince by the name of James III. The enmity of William was stimulated by this impolitic insult; and the English, who had hitherto regarded a war with aversion, joining in the indignation of their sovereign, professed their readiness to rally round his standard. William seized the moment of national enthusiasm. A triple alliance, the object of which was to place the archduke Charles of Austria on the throne of Spain, was secretly concerted between the courts of London, Vienna, and the Hague, and preparations for war were immediately commenced in England and Holland.

But William, who had first planned and afterwards vigorously promoted the grand alliance, was not permitted to see its effects. His constitution was naturally feeble, and it was almost worn out by a life of continual action and care. A fall from his horse accelerated the progress of decline. His collar bone was fractured, and to his feeble frame the accident proved fatal. He expired in the

fifty-second year of his age and the fourteenth of his reign.

The character of William III. is marked with an uniformity which renders it easy to describe. His person and constitution were feeble, his appearance was plain, and his manners were unpolished: his whole deportment was grave, sullen, and reserved: he never shewed any animation, except in the field of battle. The camp, indeed, was his element: all his delight was in reviewing his troops, in dictating to generals, and in planning the operations of a campaign. He was unquestionably one of the greatest commanders of his age. During almost the whole of his military career, his lot was to contend with generals of consummate courage and skill, and with armies both powerful in numbers, and perfect in discipline; so that he was seldom victorious; but he was never discouraged by defeat, and amidst ill success he still appeared formidable. By some he has been considered as an able statesman; but he understood foreign politics much better than internal government. He consulted the general interests of Europe more than those of his own kingdom; and the blood and the treasures of England were profusely lavished during his administration.

The accession of William III. however, is distinguished in English history as the epoch of freedom. But the revolution, and all its beneficial consequences, which give a peculiar importance and lustre to his reign, are to be ascribed to the parliament which placed him on the throne. Any other prince, in similar circumstances, might have done all that William performed in that affair ; and few of those measures which originated with himself were of any great benefit to England. Arts, sciences, literature, and commerce, continued to flourish during his reign ; but not through his patronage. The art of war was that alone which he studied and held in esteem, and the balance of power in Europe was the only object which he regarded as worthy of attention,

ANNE,



ANNE, the second daughter of king James, by his first wife, Ann Hyde, daughter of the earl of Clarendon, ascended the throne in the thirty-eighth year of her age. The death of William had filled his allies with consternation; but Anne immediately dispatched the earl of Marlborough to assure the emperor and the states general of her resolution to adopt the plans and fulfil the engagements of her predecessor. The conduct of Loujs XIV. in proclaiming her brother, indeed scarcely left her any other alternative; and her resolution was confirmed by the counsels of the countess of Marlborough, a woman of a masculine spirit, and possessing extraordinary talents for intrigue. That lady advised a vigorous exertion of the English power against France, and had already marked out the earl, her husband, for conducting all the operations both in the cabinet and the field. Never, indeed, was there a man better qualified both for debate and action: a consum-

mate general and a skilful politician, he was calculated equally for camps and for courts, and became the most formidable enemy to France that England had produced since the times of Cressey and Agincourt.

Marlborough being appointed to the command of the English army in the Netherlands, the confederates declared him generalissimo of all their forces. In the first campaign he displayed that military skill which he had acquired under the celebrated mareschal Turenne.* He compelled the duke of Burgundy and mareschal Boufflers to evacuate Guelderland and retire into Brabant, while he made himself master of Venlo, Ruremonde, and Liege. At the close of the campaign he returned to London, where he received the thanks of the House of Commons, and was created a duke by the queen.

Europe was now involved in a war so complex and extensive, that the operations of each campaign would afford matter for a volume of history. Amidst such a profusion of materials, it must suffice to exhibit a general picture, by describing the most important

* The celebrated John Churchill, duke of Marlborough, had learned the art of war under mareschal Turenne, having been a volunteer in his army, where he was called the handsome Englishman. Turenne predicted his future greatness.

events, and omitting minute particulars. In this war, England, though least concerned in its issue, was made to bear a principal part; and the successes of one campaign stimulated the nation to aim at new triumphs. The public expectation was not disappointed. Marlborough returned to the continent, and began the campaign with the capture of Bonne. He then retook Huy and Limburg, and made himself master of the Lower Rhine. But on the banks of the Danube the French were victorious. In the plains of Hochstet, mareschal Villars and the elector of Bavaria defeated the imperialists, who lost in killed, wounded, and prisoners, seven thousand men, with their cannon and baggage. A second victory gained by the mareschal Tallard over the prince of Hesse, seemed to assure the ascendancy of the French arms: the road to Vienna was laid open; and the armies of France threatened the imperial capital.

The danger of the emperor summoned Marlborough into the heart of Germany. By rapid marches he traversed extensive countries, and arrived on the banks of the Danube. Having defeated a body of Bavarians* posted

* The Bavarians lost 6000 men, with 16 pieces of cannon. Smollet, 2 p. 22.

at Schellenburg, near Donavert, to oppose his progress, he passed the Danube, and was joined by prince Eugene, a general bred up in camps, and equal to Marlborough in skill as well as in courage. Their combined armies amounted to fifty-five thousand men, troops that had been accustomed to conquer, and had often seen the Turks and the French fly before them. Mareschal Tallard, who commanded the French, was active and penetrating: he had risen by merit alone, and had established his fame by his former victories. Tallard had formed a junction with the elector of Bavaria; and their army consisted of sixty thousand veterans, commanded by two generals of distinguished reputation. Such were the commanders, and such were the troops who contended on the plains of Hochstet. The battle which was there fought, whether we consider the talents of the generals, or the number and discipline of the troops, was one of the most remarkable of the last century.

The French were posted on an eminence: their right was covered by the Danube and the village of Blenheim: another village protected their left; and, in the front of their army, ran a rivulet, the banks of which were steep, and the bottom was marshy. Not-

withstanding their advantageous position, Marlborough and Eugene resolved on the attack. Having passed the rivulet, Marlborough attacked the right of the French, and prince Eugene the left. Tallard having drawn too many of his troops from the main body to strengthen the wings, had the mortification of seeing the centre of his army pierced by the allies, and the French separated from the Bavarians. In this extremity mareschal Tallard made the most vigorous efforts to restore the communication. He flew to rally some squadrons; but having the misfortune of being extremely shortsighted, he mistook a body of the enemy for his own troops, and was made prisoner. In

August 13th,
A. D. 1704.

being thrown into confusion, the officers lost their authority, and there being no general to direct a retreat, the consternation of the French was such that the route became general, and numbers in attempting to fly from the ensanguined field, precipitated themselves into the Danube. A body of thirteen thousand men, whom Tallard had posted in the village of Blenheim, were surrounded by the allies, and obliged to surrender themselves prisoners. Seldom has a victory been more complete. Twelve thou-

sand of the French and Bavarians fell on the field of battle, or were drowned in the Danube, and thirteen thousand, with their general, were made prisoners.* The loss of the allies amounted to about five thousand five hundred killed, and eight thousand wounded and taken. This important victory relieved the emperor from his fears, and put him in possession of all the Bavarian dominions.

The duke of Marlborough, after this splendid action, returned to London, where he was received as a hero, the support and the glory of the nation. The queen, the parliament, and the people, were ready to second all his designs. The manor of Woodstock was conferred on him as a reward for his services; and the magnificent palace of Blenheim was erected in order to commemorate his victory.

Beyond the Pyrenees, as well as on the banks of the Danube, the confederate arms were successful. Spain was the great object of contest, and one of the chief theatres of the war. The archduke Charles claimed the crown of that kingdom. After visiting the

* The French and Bavarians also lost 100 pieces of cannon, 171 standards, and a vast quantity of baggage, with fifteen barrels, and eight casks full of silver. Smollet, 2. p. 28.

Hague and London, where he was formally recognized king of Spain, he proceeded under the escort of an English fleet to Lisbon, the king of Portugal having embraced his party, and joined the grand alliance against the house of Bourbon. The fleet had carried out a body of four thousand English troops, commanded by the prince of Hesse D'Armstadt, who proceeded to the Mediterranean in the design of surprising Barcelona, but was prevented by the prudence and vigilance of the governor. The fleet then steered its course back to Gibraltar; and that fortress, which had been hitherto deemed impregnable, surrendered after a feeble opposition. From the situation of the place, a small number of troops might defend it against the most formidable armies, and this consideration had lulled the garrison into a fatal security. While they neglected those duties which they regarded as superfluous, they were astonished at the daring intrepidity of a few English sailors, who, landing sword in hand, stormed and took a redoubt between the mole and the town. The governor immediately surrendered by capitulation; and the prince of Hesse, on entering the place, was amazed at the success of so desperate an enterprise.*

* Smollet says that Gibraltar might have been defended by fifty men against a numerous army. 2. p. 36.

From that period the important fortress of Gibraltar, which secures to its possessor the entrance of the Mediterranean, has remained an appendage to the crown of Great Britain.

Soon after this conquest, the confederate fleet attacked that of France, which consisted of above fifty ships of war. After an obstinate contest, and equal loss on both sides, the French retired, and could not be brought a second time to action. In the mean while, Philip resolved to make an effort for the recovery of Gibraltar; but part of his fleet being dispersed by a storm, and another part captured by the confederates, he was obliged to abandon the hopeless enterprise. The

A. D. 1705. confederates had now completed their preparations for the invasion of Spain. The Portuguese entered Estremadura, and reduced several strong places. At the same time, the archduke, accompanied by the prince of Hesse D'Armstadt and the earl of Peterborough, embarked with 12,000 troops on board the combined fleets of England and Holland, at Lisbon. Proceeding to the Mediterranean, they formed the siege of Barcelona by land and by sea; and the prince of Hesse D'Armstadt being killed at the attack of the fort of Montjoy, the undivided command devolved on the earl of Peterborough, a man of romantic bravery and one

of the most extraordinary characters of the age. He pushed the siege with such vigour, that the town was obliged to surrender. But while the governor was adjusting with the English general the articles of capitulation, the Germans and Catalans burst into the town, and began to plunder the houses of the opulent inhabitants.* The governor thought himself betrayed, and complained of the treachery. But the earl of Peterborough assured him that these were the troops who had been under the prince of Hesse D'Armstadt, representing to him, at the same time, that the only expedient to save the city from destruction, was to permit him to enter with his English troops, and promising that after the public tranquillity should be restored, he would return, and sign the capitulation. The governor, seeing no other alternative, consented to the proposal. Peterborough being admitted, rushed among the plunderers, drove them from their prey, obliged them to restore the booty which they had already seized, and having quelled the tumult, returned to the gate, and signed the capitulation. This honourable action of the English general commanded the highest applause of

* Smollet omits this story, which is related on the authority of Voltaire, who does not mention the source of his information.

the Spaniards; while their just indignation was excited against their own countrymen, who had been the formost in the pillage.

A. D. 1706.

The following year was a continuation of success on the part of the allies. Philip had obliged the archduke Charles to shut himself up in Barcelona, and had closely besieged that place, hoping, by its capture, to make himself master of the person of his rival. But the combined fleets of England and Holland advancing to its relief, the French squadron, which blockaded the harbour, was obliged to retire, and Philip was reluctantly compelled to relinquish the prey which he had considered as within his grasp. His retreat was conducted with precipitate confusion; and the sick and wounded were abandoned to the mercy of the earl of Peterborough. Having left the remnant of the army to the conduct of mareschal Tesse, he traversed Navarre with a slender retinue, and at length reached Madrid.

Philip, however, was not long allowed to repose in his capital. The combined armies of Portugal and England, commanded by the marquis de las Minos and the earl of Galway, had reduced Ciudad Rodrigo and Salamanca, and were rapidly advancing towards Madrid; while the duke of Berwick, one of the ablest

of the French generals, was obliged to retreat before the invaders. Philip, on being informed of their approach, abandoned his capital and retired to Burgos. A few days after his departure, the English and Portuguese entered Madrid, and proclaimed the archduke by the title of Charles III. king of Spain and the Indies.

In other quarters the allies were equally successful. In Italy prince Eugene, and the duke of Savoy, supported, in several bloody conflicts, the glory of the Austrian arms against the most skilful and enterprising generals of France. During the campaign of 1705, the allies performed nothing of importance in the Netherlands. The timid caution of the states-general counteracted the ardour of Marlborough, and prevented him from attempting any great enterprise. This conduct of the states was highly resented in England, and excited a suspicion that the only aim of the Dutch was to protract the war, and to bear as small a share as possible of its burden.

A. D. 1706. The time, however, arrived when the military genius of Marlborough was again to shine forth in its meridian splendour. He had early opened the campaign, and brought into the field an army of

eighty thousand men. His opponent, marshal Villeroy, commanded an army nearly equal in numbers, and not inferior in courage and discipline. But, at the village of Ramillies, the French were vanquished by the injudicious disposition of their own, and the consummate skill of the English general. Villeroy's right was flanked by the river Meuse; his left was posted behind a marsh; and the village of Ramillies was in his centre. According to this disposition of the French general, Marlborough planned his operations. Perceiving that the enemy's left could not pass over the marsh to attack him without great disadvantage, he weakened his force in that quarter, and pressed, with superior numbers, on their centre, which being obliged to give way, the route became general. In the battle and the pursuit about eight thousand of the French were killed and wounded, and six thousand made prisoners. A hundred pieces of cannon, and a hundred and twenty standards, were the splendid trophies of the victors.* The importance of this victory was soon visible in its consequences. Louvain, Brussels, Antwerp, and Ghent, opened their

* The French lost all their artillery and baggage. The loss of the allies did not exceed three thousand men. Smollet, 2. p. 84 and 85

gates to the conquerors. Ostend, which had, during three years, resisted the arms of Philip III. was taken in ten days by Marlborough. Menin, though fortified by the most perfect rules of art, and defended by a garrison of six thousand men, surrendered in six weeks; and before the end of the campaign, Ath and Dendermonde were added to the conquests of the allies. The French troops were totally dispirited, and Paris was filled with consternation.

A. D. 1707.

The ensuing campaign, however, gave an unexpected turn to the state of affairs in Spain, where the skill and address of the duke of Berwick obviated every difficulty and improved every advantage. The allies had besieged Villuna, and the duke marched to its relief. The marquis de las Minos and the earl of Galway, being apprized of his movement, advanced against him with the combined forces of Portugal and England; and, in the plains of Almanza, an action took place, which may be considered as decisive of the fate of Spain. The conflict was extremely obstinate and sanguinary; but a furious charge made by the Spanish cavalry decided the fate of the day. Of the English and Portuguese five thousand were killed and about ten thousand made

April 14th,
A. D. 1707.

prisoners,* all their artillery, most of their baggage, and a hundred and twenty standards fell into the hands of the victors; and the earl of Galway, dangerously wounded, escaped with difficulty from the pursuit.† The effects of the battle of Almanza were not less important to Philip than those of the victories of Blenheim and Ramillies had been to the allies. The duke of Orleans did not neglect the opportunity procured by the abilities and fortune of Berwick. He reduced the city and the whole kingdom of Valencia; and having carried Saragossa, obliged the Arragonese to submit to the sceptre of Philip. But while the duke of Orleans pursued his triumphant career in Spain, that celebrated commander, prince Eugene, had subjected almost all Italy, and, in conjunction with the duke of Savoy, had carried his victorious arms into France. These two generals, having forced a passage over the river Var, advanced along the coast of Provence, and laid siege to Toulon; but after an ineffectual bombardment of the town, they found themselves obliged to relinquish the enterprise.

* The duke of Berwick lost about 2000 men. Smollet, 2, p. 117.

† The marquis de las Minas, the Portuguese general, was run through the arm, and saw his concubine, who fought in the habit of an Amazon, killed by his side. Smollet, 2. p. 117.

A. D. 1708.

The next campaign opened with the fairest prospects of success to the house of Bourbon. In Flanders, the forces of France, commanded by the duke of Vendosme, were animated by the presence of the duke of Burgundy, the eldest son of the Dauphin. The inhabitants of Ghent, being gained by Louis, received the French troops, who also took possession of Bruges and Plas-sendal. But prince Eugene was recalled from Italy to command the Austrian forces in the Netherlands, and his junction with Marlborough defeated all the hopes of the enemy. An obstinate and bloody engagement took place at Oudenarde:* the advantage was on the side of the allies: the French retired in the night towards Ghent. Eugene and Marlborough soon after laid siege to Lisle. That strong and important city being fortified by the consummate skill of Vauban, and defended by mareschal Boufflers with a numerous garrison, sustained a vigorous siege for the space of nearly four months, but at length was obliged to capitulate.† The

* The French had 3000 killed, and 7000 taken prisoners. The loss of the allies was about 2000. Smollet, 2. p. 145.

† The trenches were opened before Lisle on the 22d August, 1708: the city surrendered on the 23d October, and the citadel on the 8th of December. Marshal Boufflers was raised to the dignity of a peer of France, exclusive of other honours and rewards, for his gallant resistance. M. Le Presid. Henault. Ab. Chron. An. 1708.

confederate generals then obliged the elector of Bavaria to raise the siege of Brussels, and compelled the city of Ghent to surrender to their arms. But in Spain the allies were not equally successful. The duke of Orleans and the other French commanders reduced several strong places, particularly Tortosa and Alicant.

A. D. 1709. France was now reduced to a deplorable condition. The capture of Lisle by the allies had laid the road open to the gates of Paris; and Louis XIV. who only a few years before had carried his victorious arms to the Danube, the Po, and the Tagus, now began to doubt the security of his capital. The unusual severity of the winter throughout France, completed the despair of the nation. The fruits of the earth were cut off, and the prospect of famine was added to the calamities of war. Accustomed to prosperity, Louis reluctantly bowed beneath the strokes of adverse fortune; and seeing himself on the point of being overwhelmed by the multitudinous mass of his enemies, he instructed M. de Torcy, his minister, to open at the Hague a negotiation for peace. He offered to yield the whole Spanish monarchy to the house of Austria, to cede to the emperor his conquests on the

Upper Rhine, to establish a sufficient barrier to Holland, to acknowledge the title of queen Anne to the crown of Great Britain, and to remove the Pretender from France. But the war factions prevailed at London, the Hague, and Vienna. Marlborough and Eugene, who conducted the armies of England and the empire, also directed their councils. Their brilliant successes procured them an accumulation of honours and emoluments; and those who derive so many advantages from war, can scarcely be expected to be advocates for peace. Their influence predominated at the Hague, as well as at London and Vienna, the pensionary, Heinsius, and other leading men of the Dutch republic having the same interests and views. The proposals of Louis were therefore rejected; but he gained one important point: the French nation was convinced that the continuation of a war, which exhausted and desolated Europe, was owing to the unparalleled obstinacy of the confederates.

The campaign being opened, Eugene and Marlborough laid siege to Tournay, which surrendered on the 29th of July; but the citadel held out till the 5th of September. They then passed the Scheldt, with a view to lay siege to Mons. Mareschal Villars, one

of the ablest of the French generals, had been recalled from Italy to take the command of the army in the Netherlands. It has been asserted that he might have attacked the allies with advantage, while so many of their troops were employed in the siege of Tournay, as the superiority of numbers would then have been on his side; but prudence forbade him to expose an army, which might be regarded as the last resource of France.* In order, however, to frustrate their designs upon Mons, he took an advantageous position near Malplaquet, and fortified it with consummate diligence and skill. Prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough were no sooner joined by the troops from before Tournay, than seeing themselves considerably superior in strength, they attacked the French in their intrenchments. This was Sept. 11, A. D. 1709. the longest and bloodiest action that took place during the war, and the victory was disputed with an obstinacy scarcely to be paralleled even in the sanguinary annals of those murderous times. The allies were often repulsed, and as often returned to the charge. Villars was wounded, and marshal Boufflers, who succeeded to the com-

* On this subject, see M. Le President de Henault, *ad. An. 1709.*

mand, made so skilful a retreat that he left neither artillery nor prisoners behind.— Though the confederates remained masters of the field, yet the French historians regard the battle of Malplaquet as glorious to their nation. Their soldiers had, during three days, been straightened for bread, yet when a supply arrived, they would not stay to eat it, so great was their impatience to engage.* Ten thousand of the French fell in this sanguinary conflict; the loss of the allies amounted to more than double that number. This carnage, however, did not check their progress, and Mons being immediately besieged, was compelled to surrender to their arms. In Spain numerous actions took place, but none of them of any importance, and the balance of success on both sides was nearly equiponderant.

A. D. 1710. The next year began with negotiations for peace. A congress was held at Gertrudenburg; but the same malignant influence predominated in the councils of the confederates. Louis XIV. not only adhered to his former proposals, but carried them so far as to offer to furnish the allies with

* Hénault, Ab. Chron. An. 1709. Hénault says the French left neither artillery nor prisoners. Smollet says they left 16 cannon, and a good number of prisoners. 2. p. 168.

a sum of money towards the dethroning of his grandson. But the allies required that he should join his armies to theirs for that purpose. It was easy to perceive that so extraordinary a proposal was made only to be rejected; and the French monarch resolved to continue the war.

With the recommencement of hostilities, the ill fortune of Louis returned. Doway, Bethune, St. Venant, and Aire, were successively reduced by the allies. But it was not in Flanders only that their arms were permanently successful. In Spain, the defeat of his forces near Saragossa, plunged Philip V. into fresh misfortunes, from which it was the more difficult to extricate himself, as Louis XIV. had been obliged to recal his troops for the defence of his own dominions. Philip was a second time obliged to abandon Madrid and retire to Valladolid; but being joined by the duke de Vendosme, who with a small but select body of horse had crossed the Pyrenees, the presence of that celebrated general rekindled the enthusiasm of the Castilians; and, within the space of two months, an army of thirty thousand men was collected. They were, indeed, raw and undisciplined, but inspired with implicit confidence in the genius of Vendosme, and that able com-

mander soon taught them to vanquish the enemy.

Philip now returned to Madrid, from whence Charles was obliged to retire; but although it was the depth of winter, he suffered not the rigour of the season to detain him from the field. In conjunction with Vendosme he crossed the Tagus, and carried Brihuega by assault: the garrison, consisting of five thousand English under Colonel Stanhope, surrendered themselves prisoners. The imperial general count Staremberg, who was advancing to the relief of that place, was attacked at Villa Viciosa by the victors. In this action Philip himself commanded his right wing and Vendosme the left. Starem-

Dec. 10th,
A. D. 1710.

berg was defeated with the loss of six thousand men; but he made a masterly retreat. This victory was followed by the reduction of several strong towns, and Philip entered Saragossa in triumph. His affairs now began to assume a favourable aspect: in the beginning of the following year Gironne, after sustaining a vigorous siege, was taken by the Duc de Noailles, and the allies continually lost ground.

A. D. 1711.

A revolution now took place in the court of England, which operated an entire change in its politics, and,

in the end, restored tranquillity to Europe. The councils of queen Anne had hitherto been governed by a whig ministry, or rather by the Marlborough party. The duke and duchess of Marlborough, with their son in law the earl of Godolphin, who was at the head of the treasury, had the entire direction of every thing both in the cabinet and in the field. An opposite party, however, had long been jealous of the power of this family which governed the queen; and the nation began to complain that its treasures were lavished on conquests more splendid than profitable. In Flanders, where Marlborough commanded, the war had been carried on with a vigour that England had never displayed on the continent since the days of Henry V. and the attention of Godolphin, who ruled the cabinet, had been solely directed to support him in all his operations, while the affairs of Spain, the grand object of contest, were neglected. Immense supplies were sent to Marlborough; but the English generals in Spain, from the want of troops and of money, were unable to perform any great achievement; and the earl of Peterborough saw himself obliged to carry on the war, in that kingdom, under every disadvantage, and almost at his own expence. The English

ministers had adopted the idea, that Spain was to be conquered on the banks of the Scheldt or the Rhine. This view of things, however, was erroneous. Had the troops, employed in the Netherlands, been sent into Spain, Philip V. must have been expelled from his throne. The brilliant successes of Marlborough covered him with glory; but the people began to groan under the weight of debt and taxation. Robert Harley, afterwards earl of Oxford, and Henry St. John, who soon after obtained the title of lord Bolingbroke, being at the head of the opposition, did not fail to exaggerate the causes of national discontent. Harley possessed uncommon erudition and was polite and intriguing: he had insinuated himself into the favour of the queen, and was resolved to overturn the power of Marlborough and his adherents. Henry St. John, his second in this undertaking, was a man of exalted powers of thinking, eloquent, ambitious, and enterprising.* At first their intrigues were over-ruled by the influence of Godolphin and Marlborough, who procured the dismissal of Harley from the office of Secretary, on which

* Henry St. John, lord Bolingbroke, is well known by his political and philosophical writings, as well as by his deistical principles.

Bolinbroke voluntarily resigned his employments. The triumph of the whigs, however, did not long continue. After the conferences at Gertrudenberg, it was evident that the Dutch, the emperor, and the English general, wished to perpetuate the war. The writers of the tory party, who were men of the first rank in literary eminence, expatiated on the avarice of the duke and the self-interested conduct of the Dutch, and justly complained that England bore the chief burden of a war in which she had so little interest. While the tories were thus labouring to influence the public mind, the duchess of Marlborough lost, by her petulance, the affections of the queen, who transferred her confidence to Mrs. Masham, a lady entirely devoted to lord Oxford and his party. An entire change now took place in the ministry. The earl of Godolphin was dismissed from his office, which was given to his rival lord Oxford; and not one of that party, which had lately engrossed the favour of the sovereign, and managed all the affairs of the state, was left in any public employment except the duke of Marlborough: he retained, for a short time, the command of the army; but he stood alone and unsupported, an object of malevolence and reproach.

The first care of the new ministers was to relieve their country from a long and unprofitable war, in which victory and conquest procured no advantage. An unexpected event confirmed them in their resolution, and greatly facilitated the restoration of peace: the emperor Joseph expired in the vigour of his age; and his brother Charles, the competitor of Philip for the crown of Spain, was raised to the imperial throne. The confederates had been roused to arms by the dread of seeing united, in one hand, the sceptres of France and Spain—an uncertain event, and against which the chances might fairly be said to preponderate; and they had reason to regard, with a similar jealousy, the actual addition of the latter kingdom to the hereditary dominions of Charles, and the power which he derived from the imperial crown.* All these considerations induced the court of England to put an end to a ruinous war, which could now have no rational object. The duke of Marlborough continued at the head of the army; and the capture of Bouchaine closed his military career. In the mean while

April 17th,
A. D. 1711.

Sept. 13th,
A. D. 1711.

* From this time to the end of the war, no events of great importance took place in Spain.

the courts of England and France had entered into negotiations for peace, which Marlborough was no longer able to retard. But those who derive their honours and emoluments from war, are often inattentive to the sufferings of the public, and the cries of humanity. Although Marlborough had lost his ascendancy at London, prince Eugene and Heinsius, the grand pensionary of Holland, maintained their influence at Vienna and the Hague, and employed all their arts of intrigue to prevent a pacification so contrary to their interests. Prince Eugene even came to London, in order to impede the conclusion of a peace which seemed to interrupt his career of glory. At the English court he met with such a reception as was due to his military fame; but at the same time, his proposals were rejected in such a manner as they seemed to deserve. The duke of Marlborough, who had more to fear from the faction at London than from the forces of France, resigned the command of the army, and was soon after stripped of all his offices and emoluments. The command of the English army in Flanders was conferred on the duke of Ormond; but before the new general met with any opportunity to display his abilities, the preliminaries of peace were settled between England and France.

A. D. 1713. On the 29th of January was opened the famous congress of Utrecht, which at length gave peace to all Europe. Through the obstinacy of the confederates, the negotiations continued all the year, and even were not terminated at its close. A suspension of arms, however, was agreed on between England and France, the only two powers that were desirous of peace; and the duke of Ormond withdrew his troops from the allied army. After the departure of the English, the confederates found themselves unable to resist the arms of France; and their ill success during the campaign, abated their inclination for continuing the war.

A. D. 1713. At length the congress of Utrecht was closed, treaties of peace being concluded between the house of Bourbon and all the confederated powers, except the emperor, who resolved to continue the war. The British ministers, who took the lead at this congress, neglected nothing that could be conducive to the good of their country, and to the support of the balance of power in Europe. Philip V. was acknowledged king of Spain, and on that condition renounced for himself, and his descendants, the right of succession to the crown of France. The dukes of Berry and Orleans also made such renunciations as provided against the union of the

two crowns of France and Spain. The glory and interests of Great Britain were also secured by the cession of all right to Gibraltar and Minorca on the part of Spain, and of Hudson's Bay, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland, on that of France. The French retained Cape Breton, with the liberty of drying their fish on the shores of Newfoundland. It was also stipulated, that the fortifications of Dunkirk should be demolished, and its port destroyed. Among the articles that were glorious to the English, was that by which Louis XIV. agreed to set free those who were imprisoned in France for professing the protestant religion. The interests of the other allied powers were not neglected: the duke of Savoy obtained the island of Sicily, with the title of king: to the Dutch were granted the barrier which they required: the Upper Guelderland was ceded to the king of Prussia; and it was stipulated that the emperor should possess the kingdom of Naples, the duchy of Milan, and the Spanish Netherlands, if he chose, within a limited time to accede to the pacification.*

Thus it appears that the British ministers did justice to all; but their country refused

* The emperor persisted, for some time, in carrying on the war: but finding himself unable to resist the arms of the house of Bourbon, he agreed to a peace, which was concluded at Rastadt on the 6th of March, 1714.

it to them : they were branded by the whig party with all the terms of reproach, and accused of having given up the advantages which England had a right to expect ; while they ought rather to have met with universal applause for having put an end to a ruinous war, which exhausted the resources of the kingdom for the interests of foreign states. The nation was divided into two opposite factions, equally virulent ; and the council-chamber was converted into a theatre for the most violent altercations. The health of the queen had been for some time declining, and it was further impaired by the anxiety which she felt in witnessing the dissensions of her ministers. Bolingbroke had at first been contented to act a subordinate part in the overthrow of the Marlborough party ; but confiding in the real or imagined superiority of his own talents, he resolved to become lord Oxford's rival. In this contest of ministerial ambition, Bolingbroke prevailed, and Oxford was dismissed from his office of treasurer. All was now confusion at court : the queen, whose frame, enfeebled by sickness and care, was unable any longer to support the burden, sunk into a state of lethargic insensibility, and the physicians soon despaired of her life. The privy council being assembled, took all

the necessary precautions for securing the succession in the house of Brunswick, and sent orders to the heralds at arms, and to a troop of life guards, to be in readiness to mount, in order to proclaim the elector of Hanover king of Great Britain. A few days after the queen expired, in the Aug. 1st, A. D. 1714. fiftieth year of her age, and the thirteenth of a glorious and equitable reign.

In depicting the character of queen Anne, there is little variation among historians. She was rather amiable than great: neither her capacity nor her learning were remarkable; and all her political measures are to be ascribed to her ministers. She seemed, indeed, rather fitted for the duties of private life than for those of a public station: a pattern of conjugal affection, a warm friend, and an indulgent mistress, her character is emphatically described in the merited epithet of the good queen Anne, with which she has been deservedly honoured by posterity. In her ended the line of the Stuarts—a family distinguished in history by its misconduct, and its vicissitudes.

The reign of this princess was a period of continual war, in which the success of her arms was glorious to the British name, but of little advantage to the nation. The taxes

were greatly augmented, and the national debt was increased to fifty millions, which was then regarded as an enormous sum.* In spite, however, of an exhausting system of warfare, trade having previously acquired activity and vigour, continued to flourish; and the legal interest of money was, by an act of parliament in the last year of this reign, reduced from six to five per cent. The union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland has been productive of greater national advantages than all the victories of Marlborough in Flanders. The reign of queen Anne was not distinguished by military achievements alone. Philosophy and literature were carried to a height of perfection hitherto unknown. The eminent writers of this period are too many to enumerate. Flamsteed and others excelled in astronomy: in exploring the system of the universe, Newton has never been equalled: Addison, Prior, Gay, and a crowd of others, are famous for their works both in poetry and prose; and England rivalled France in science and letters, as well as in arms.

* For the national debt at the end of this reign, see Rees' Encyclopædia—article debts.

GEORGE I.



WE are now arrived at the most happy and glorious æra in British history, the accession of the illustrious house of Brunswick, under whose benignant auspices these kingdoms have attained a degree of prosperity and freedom, unparelled in the annals of past ages. It has been generally supposed that queen Anne and her late ministry had formed the design of transferring the succession to the Pretender. But it appears that the dissensions of the ministers had prevented the project from being brought to maturity. The diligence and activity of the privy council totally disconcerted every plan that might have been formed for that purpose. And George I. elector of Hanover, son of the princess Sophia, grand-daughter of James I. was, according to the act of settlement, proclaimed king of Great Britain and Ireland. It is natural to suppose that the new monarch could not regard with a favourable eye, those ministers who were so strongly suspected of espousing the interests of the Pretender. An

instantaneous and total change took place in all the offices of honour, trust, and emolument. A new parliament was called, in which the whigs had a great majority: their interest, therefore, not only predominated at court, but they also governed the senate. The tories, in the mean while, though beaten from the field, endeavoured to rally their forces. They revived the clamour of the church being in danger, and excited the jealousies and apprehensions of the people. The high church party complained that under a whig administration heresy daily gained ground. Religion was mingled with all political disputes, and the anti-ministerial faction endeavoured by every means to render the dissenters odious to the people. The Pretender hoping to turn to his own advantage the spirit of discord which prevailed in the nation, dispatched into England his emissaries, who dispersed his manifestos, and endeavoured to delude the unwary. From this time, the two great parties that divided the nation began to alter their titles. The ancient whigs were distinguished by the name of Hanoverians, and the tories were branded with the appellation of Jacobites.

The new parliament being assembled, the earl of Oxford and lord Bolingbroke were

impeached of high treason, and other crimes and misdemeanours. With the same acrimony, a prosecution was instituted against the duke of Ormond; but he, as well as lord Bolingbroke, escaped to the continent. The earl of Oxford was seized and committed to the Tower, where he remained two years, during which time the nation was in a continual ferment amidst the cabals of the opposite parties. In Scotland, the discontents broke out into open rebellion. The earl of Mar assembled about three hundred of his

Sept. 6th,
A. D. 1715.

vassals, and proclaimed the Pretender. About the same time, the earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Foster took arms in the same cause; but their preparations were weak, and their measures ill concerted. Without foresight or plan, they advanced to Preston, in Lancashire, where they were invested by the joint forces of generals Willis and Carpenter. At first, the rebels repulsed the attacks of the royal army; but seeing themselves completely surrounded, without any hope of effectual resistance, or any possibility of escape, they surrendered at discretion. The leaders being put under a strong guard were sent to London, and the common men to Chester and Liverpool. The followers of the rebels in Scotland were some-

what more vigorous, but not more successful. Their forces, which had increased to the number of more than ten thousand, commanded by the earls of Mar and Seaforth, the lord of Glengary, and colonel Gordon, had commenced their march towards England, and in the neighbourhood of Dumblain came in sight of the royal army, commanded by the duke of Argyle. The rebels, being superior in number, did not hesitate to begin the attack. The conflict was obstinate: on the right the rebels were victorious; but their left was defeated. Both parties claimed the victory, but the advantages of the day were on the side of the duke. From that time the affairs of the rebels began rapidly to decline. Many of the clans returned home, and their army gradually dispersed. The earl of Mar, and the Pretender, who had just arrived and had been proclaimed at Aberdeen, Dundee, and Scone, made their escape to France, and were soon after followed by general Gordon and some others of the rebel leaders.

The rebellion being happily suppressed, nothing remained but to punish the delinquents. The earls of Derwentwater, Nithsdale, Carnwath, and Wintown, with the lords Kenmuir, Nairn, and Widdrington, were, on trial, found guilty, and received sentence of

death. Nithsdale, however, escaped, in female attire, the night before his intended execution. The others were publicly executed, and, in their last moments, displayed a calmness and intrepidity that excited the admiration of the spectators. Foster, Macintosh, and several others of the Lancashire rebels were also sentenced to death. Foster however, found means to escape from Newgate, and reached the continent in safety; and shortly after Macintosh, with some others, forced their way, having mastered the keeper and turnkeys, and disarmed the centinel. Four or five were hanged and quartered, among whom was William Paul, a clergyman of the church of England.

At this critical juncture, lord Oxford, judging with his usual sagacity that the government, satisfied with the punishment of such delinquents, would consider his offences as venial, petitioned to be brought to his trial, and a day was assigned for that purpose. But a dispute arising between the two houses concerning the mode of his trial, that nobleman was brought to the bar of the lords, and the commons refusing to appear, was dismissed for want of accusers. The commotions which had agitated the nation, and menaced the throne, were now happily suppressed; but

the number of the disaffected, and the intrigues of the jacobites, gave reason to apprehend new commotions. This critical state of affairs gave rise to septennial parliaments. The term of three years assigned to the duration of parliaments, was about to expire; and at this juncture it was deemed expedient to proceed to a new election. An act was therefore passed, by which the parliament, then sitting, extended its own duration, and that of future parliaments to the term of seven years; and the trennial act, which limited their continuance to three years, was repealed. This important alteration has been reprobated by several of our historians and political writers; but it is extremely probable, that, at the period in which it took place, it contributed, in no small degree, to the preservation of the inestimable blessing of public tranquillity.

George I. having now, by the vigour of his administration, surmounted every difficulty, and established his throne, was left at leisure to attend to the affairs of his continental dominions; and their interests being various and complicated, caused him no small embarrassment. By the purchase of Bremen and Verden of the Danes, he incurred the resentment of Charles XII. king of Sweden, who

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claimed those provinces as part of his dominions. A league was formed between that monarch and Peter the Great of Russia ; and these northern conquerors were making great preparations for the invasion of England, when the death of Charles XII. by a musket shot at the siege of Frederickstadt, rendered the project abortive. The king of Great Britain, however, did not neglect to strengthen himself by treaties with foreign powers. A quadruple alliance was concluded between the courts of Vienna, Versailles, London, and the Hague. By this treaty it was agreed that the emperor should renounce all pretensions to the crown of Spain, and exchange Sardinia for Sicily with the duke of Savoy ; and that the succession to the duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, should be settled on the queen of Spain's eldest son, in case the existing possessors should die without issue. The court of Spain refusing to agree to these terms, commenced a war with the emperor, and landed an army in Sicily. In conformity to the quadruple alliance, the king of England sent Sir George Byng, with twenty-two ships of the line to the Mediterranean. With this force the British admiral destroyed the Spanish fleet off Syracuse ; and war was soon after declared, both by

A. D. 1718.

England and France against Spain. The duke of Ormond now hoped, by the assistance of cardinal Alberoni, the Spanish minister, to restore the Pretender. An armament was equipped for that purpose, and the duke set sail, but near Cape Finisterre his fleet was dispersed and totally disabled by a violent storm, which totally frustrated the design. This war was neither important nor of long duration; for the king of Spain, perceiving himself unable to withstand so formidable a confederacy, acceded to the triple alliance. An affair of much greater national import was soon after decided: this was the dependence of the Irish parliament on that of Great Britain. A bill, for depriving the parliament of Ireland of the right of final jurisdiction, was prepared and passed through both houses, though not without considerable opposition, and the measure, as might be expected, excited great discontent in the sister kingdom.

A. D. 1721. From the affairs of politics and

war our attention is now called to the speculations of avarice and the chicanery of commerce. In the preceding reign John Law, a native of Edinburgh, had erected in France a commercial association, under the name of the Mississippi company, which had

promised the deluded people immense wealth, but which, instead of realizing their flattering hopes, had involved thousands of families in ruin and distress. England, however, did not take warning by the example of France: the dæmon of infatuated avarice passed over the channel; and London exhibited a scene of extravagant speculation, exactly similar to that which a few months before had produced so fatal effects at Paris.

In order to explain concisely this matter, it is requisite to observe, that since the establishment of the funding system at the revolution, government had borrowed large sums of the different trading companies; and the continental wars of the late reign had increased the national debt to what was then regarded as an enormous amount, and the interest, which was then six per cent. absorbed a considerable part of the public revenue. In this situation of things, the South Sea company offered a proposal to government for diminishing the burden of the national debt by lowering its interest. The scheme was founded on granting a permission to that company to purchase all the debts of the nation, on such terms as they could make with the other proprietors. For the interest of the sums thus redeemed, the South Sea

company agreed to receive five per cent. for the space of six years, after which it was to be reduced to four per cent. and to be redeemed by parliament. Government could scarcely refuse an offer which appeared so advantageous to the public. An act of parliament was passed, empowering the South Sea company to open a subscription for raising the money that was necessary to buy up those debts of the government. This was the juncture at which the grand bubble was projected, exhibiting the exact counterpart of the Mississippi company at Paris. Those who were willing to become proprietors of South Sea company's stock, were flattered with the chimerical prospect of deriving immense profit from having their money employed in a lucrative trade to the southern parts of America; and it was even reported that they were to have some rich settlements granted them by the king of Spain. The directors also engaged to make large dividends; and the people were persuaded that every share of a hundred pounds, original stock, would yield fifty per cent. per annum. Proposals were printed and circulated shewing the advantages of the project, and inviting men of monied property to join in so lucrative a speculation. Avarice immediately

caught the bait. The books were no sooner opened for the subscription, than crowds came into the scheme: the delusion rapidly spread; and shares, in a few days, sold for double the price of their original purchase. The whole nation seemed to be infected with a spirit of avaricious enterprize; and so great was the public infatuation that, in a short time, original shares of a hundred pounds, of South Sea stock, sold for eight hundred and twenty pounds, and, at the opening of the books after Midsummer, the price rose to a thousand per cent. including the Midsummer dividend. But at length the people awaked from their delirium: the value of South Sea stock fell as rapidly as it had risen, and, in the month of September, was as low as a hundred and fifty per cent. By this unexpected revolution an incredible number of families were involved in ruin. The king and the parliament concurred in their endeavours to repair the mischief, and restore the credit of the nation. Many of the directors, whose arts had excited these vain expectations, had acquired vast fortunes, but the parliament stripped them of their ill-gotten wealth, and expelled such as had seats in the house while orders were given to remove them from the offices which they held

under the crown. The principal delinquents being punished by the forfeiture of their property, every possible expedient was adopted for the relief of the sufferers by an equitable division of the stock of the company; but the frenzy had been so great as to render it impossible to repair the evils which it had caused to individuals. This popular delirium had also affected the stocks of the other great trading companies, and raised them far above their just value. Bank stock was advanced to two hundred and fifty, and East India stock to four hundred and forty-five pounds per cent. It is a curious fact, and must appear astonishing to posterity, that while this spirit of extravagant speculation was at its height, the aggregate prices of the several stocks had risen to about five hundred millions sterling, which, according to some computations, was five times the amount of the circulating cash of all Europe, and that a sum above double the value of the fee simple, of all the landed property in the kingdom, had an imaginary existence in this chimerical traffic.*

But these romantic speculations in the stocks of the great trading companies were

* Vide Anderson's Hist. Comm. 3, p.98.

not the only instances of the public infatuation. During this period of avaricious imposture and wild adventure, numerous projects of the most absurd nature were daily set on foot, and every proposal met with encouragement. Impudent impostors opened subscriptions for projects relating to trade and manufactures, and supposed new inventions. After advertising them in the newspapers of the preceding day, they readily found subscribers for a million or two of imaginary stock. Not a day passed without fresh projects announced in the newspapers by pompous advertisements. On some one shilling, on others half-a-crown, and on a few five or even ten shillings per cent. were paid down by the subscribers, to whom were delivered printed receipts, without any signature, or signed by persons unknown. Several of these projectors, after opening their books in the morning, and receiving the deposit money of the subscription of one or two millions, disappeared in the afternoon, and were never more heard of. But what appears the most extraordinary is, that a great number of the subscribers themselves were far from regarding these projects as any thing more than mere bubbles: it sufficed for their purpose that their receipts would be sold at a premium, and they soon

passed them off in the crowded alley. The first purchasers soon found second purchasers, who again met with others; and while the delusion lasted, the prices were continually advancing. Persons of quality, of both sexes, as well as the commercial classes and the common people, were deeply engaged in this singular species of traffic: the ladies met their brokers at the milliners and haberdashers' shops; and the gentlemen resorted, for the same purpose, to the taverns and coffee-houses near the Exchange, which were continually crowded, and displayed scenes of incredible extravagance. So wild a scene of public infatuation and general imposture, at length attracted the attention of the legislature; and statutes were enacted, prohibiting, under severe penalties, the opening of these juggling subscriptions, and the exercise of any agency or brokerage on their account. This legislative interference was the magical wand which dispelled the illusion. In all these bubbles, so long as their receipts increased in value, every one that purchased and sold again was a gainer; but, as soon as the eyes of the public were opened, the juggling projects by which they had been dazzled began to lose credit, and the phan-

tom of imaginary wealth vanished into its original non-entity.*

The discontents caused by these singular commotions in the world of commercial speculation, revived the hopes of the disaffected party. But their designs were discovered by the duke of Orleans, regent of France, who informed the king of England of a new conspiracy formed against him by several persons of distinction. The duke of Norfolk, the celebrated Francis Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, lord Orrery, and some others, were arrested on suspicion. But the whole weight of the storm fell upon the bishop, no circumstance appearing against the others sufficient for their conviction. Atterbury pleaded his own cause with great ingenuity and eloquence. As the chief indications of his guilt consisted of intercepted letters written in cypher, many of the lords strongly reprobated any reliance on such defective evidence. A bill for his banishment, however, passed through both houses; and the bishop set out for the continent. On his landing at Calais, he met with the famous lord Bolingbroke, who having

* For a detailed account of the Mississippi and South Sea projects, see Anderson's *Hist. Com.* 3. p. 90. &c. from which this sketch is abridged.

obtained his pardon, was just arrived at that place on his return to England. The bishop continued in exile during the rest of his life. From the irregularity of the proceedings against this celebrated prelate, some have been induced to question the justice of his sentence; but there is little reason to doubt of his guilt.

The remainder of this reign affords few materials for history, being mostly employed in negociations. So fluctuating were at this time the politics of Europe, that an alliance was formed between the courts of Vienna and Madrid, which had long been inveterate enemies. To counterbalance this union, a new

A. D. 1725.

treaty was concluded between the kings of Great Britain, France, and Prussia. An English squadron, under admiral Hosier, was sent to intercept the Spanish galleons on their return from America. This expedition proved as unfortunate as possible: the British fleet being stationed off Porto Bello, the admiral and most of his men perished through the insalubrity of the climate; and the ships were so damaged by the worms which infest those seas, as to be rendered unfit for future service. The Spaniards, on the other hand, lost ten thousand men in an ineffectual siege of Gibraltar. These

were the principal events of this war, which was only of short continuance. The enterprises of both the belligerent powers had been equally unsuccessful; and both were wisely desirous of avoiding further misfortunes: a negotiation was, therefore, set on foot, and, through the mediation of France, a reconciliation was effected. The reign of George I. was now drawing to its close. Peace being restored, he set out to visit his German dominions, and in his journey to Hanover, he
June 11th,
A. D. 1727. expired at Osnaburgh, after a few hours sickness, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and the thirteenth of a happy and prosperous reign.

The character of George I. is highly respectable: he possessed great firmness of mind, and used to say, "My maxim is never to abandon my friends, to do justice to all the world, and to fear no man." From these principles, indeed, his reign affords no instances of his deviation. His natural sagacity was matured by observation and experience; and, to his other useful qualities, he joined great application to business. He was called to govern a nation divided by factions, and agitated by disaffection, yet he disconcerted all the plans of his adversaries, and surmounted every obstacle by his prudence and assiduity.

His reign must, by every impartial observer, be regarded as highly beneficial to this kingdom. During the greatest part of the time that he swayed the sceptre, the British empire enjoyed the blessings of peace, and flourished in prosperity. And, at his demise, the national debt was scarcely increased a million and a half since the death of queen Anne, a circumstance which strikingly shews the difference between the belligerent system of that princess, or rather of her ministers, and the pacific politics of her successor.* The establishment of the sinking fund was one of the financial regulations of this reign; and its operation contributed, in no small degree, to check the increase of the national debt. The commerce of these kingdoms kept pace with the public prosperity; and luxury, its invariable concomitant, advanced in its train. About this time the value of the northern parts of the kingdom began to be better understood than it had formerly been; and the manufactures began to move gradually towards those districts where the rate of living was moderate, and

* At the close of the reign of queen Anne, the national debt was £50,644,306. At the demise of George I. it was 52,092,235. Vide Dr. Rees's *Encyclop.* 11. Part 1. article debts.

where coal, in particular, was plentiful and cheap. The influx of money by commerce stimulated industry; and a spirit of improvement pervaded every part of the empire.

GEORGE II.



GEORGE II. ascended the throne of his father in a season of peace and public prosperity, of which the wisdom of his government greatly prolonged the continuance. External peace, however, left the nation more at leisure for domestic dissension. At the commencement of the last reign, the appellations of whig and tory sunk into those of Hanoverian and Jacobite; but now these designations began to disappear in their turn, and give place to the new distinction of the court and the country party, the former favoured all the schemes, and applauded all the measures of the ministry, the maxim of the latter was to oppose and condemn the whole conduct of government, how conducive soever it might be to the welfare of the nation.

The minister who makes the most distinguished figure in the history of this reign is Sir Robert Walpole, who, from low beginnings, had raised himself to the head of the treasury. His administration was almost a continual contest with a formidable opposition. No minister, however, better understood the arts of political intrigue. During a series of years, he secured a constant majority in the parliament; and, by his negotiations, he preserved for a long space of time the tranquillity of the British empire and of Europe.

This interval of profound peace affords few materials for history. Such intervals, however, are the periods of happiness to nations; for history is often no more than a register of crimes and calamities. While the kingdom was free from both foreign and civil war, the disputations in the parliament between the court and the country parties, though carried on with the greatest acrimony, did not affect the happiness of the people, and are uninteresting to posterity. The measure that first shook the power of the minister was the excise bill on tobacco, the purport of which was, that all the tobacco imported should be laid up in warehouses appointed by the officers of the crown, until it should be sold by the proprietors, after paying a

duty of four pence per pound. This bill excited a violent ferment in the city, as well as in the House of Commons, where it was debated with great strength of reasoning. But arguments were not what the ministry dreaded. The house was beset by an enraged multitude, and Sir Robert perceived that his life was in danger. The ministers carried the proposal in the house; but terrified at the popular tumult, they abandoned the project. The miscarriage of the bill was celebrated with public rejoicings in London and Westminster; and the minister was burned in effigy by the populace.

In their next attempt, however, the country party was not equally successful. Encouraged by the recent declaration of the people in their favour, they proceeded to a motion for repealing the septennial act passed in the last reign, and making the parliaments triennial, as it had been settled at the revolution. But, after violent debates, the motion was suppressed by a considerable majority. The members of the opposition, complaining that debate was useless, and that nothing could stem the tide of corruption, retired to their country seats, and thus left Walpole in possession of an undisputed majority in parliament. But a misunderstanding which

arose between the king and the prince of Wales, and was widened by the intrigues of the courtiers, contributed in no small degree to the fall of the minister. The prince, who was the darling of the nation, had always professed his dislike both of the ministry and their measures. Sir Robert Walpole, therefore, resolved to give him every possible mortification. A motion being made in the House of Commons for increasing the salary of the prince from fifty to a hundred thousand pounds per annum, was violently opposed by Sir Robert, and met with the fate of other anti-ministerial measures, being rejected by a great majority. The minister afterwards introduced a bill for subjecting all dramatic writings to the inspection of the lord chamberlain, and prohibiting their appearance on the stage without his licence. In this he was also successful: the bill was carried in the house; but it excited great discontent in the nation. The popular indignation was also increased by the depredations of the Spaniards, who disputed the right of the English to cut logwood in the bay of Campeachy. This right, which had long been a subject of contest, had never been clearly settled in any of the treaties between England and Spain; and the Spanish Guarda

Costas took every opportunity of plundering the English merchants who were engaged in that trade. It is extremely difficult to ascertain all the circumstances of these depredations committed at so great a distance. The English merchants, however, complained that not only their vessels were confiscated but that the crews, in case of resistance, were condemned to slavery in the mines of Mexico and Peru. The English court made frequent remonstrances to the court of Madrid concerning these outrages, but received for answer only promises of inquiry without any redress.* The letters and memorials of the British merchants being laid before parliament, the houses at length resolved to present an address to entreat his Majesty to obtain effectual relief, and to convince the court of Spain that England would no longer submit to these insults. But the minister being wholly averse to war, negotiations were again commenced, and a treaty concluded. Spain promised a sum of money which was never paid; but the original dispute was still left unsettled.†

* Sir R. Walpole said, that these complaints, &c. impeded the negotiations, and represented the expensiveness of war and the probability that France would join with Spain. Smollet. 3. p. 23.

† Vide Smollet's continuation of Hume, 3. p. 7, 18, 19, and 30.

Soon after this transaction, the minister having demanded a supply, it was moved in parliament to know whether Spain had paid the sum stipulated, as the time for its payment was expired. The duke of Newcastle, by his Majesty's order, informed the house that it was not paid, and that the court of Madrid had assigned no reason for the delay. This caused an immediate address to his Majesty for a war with Spain; and the minister, finding himself obliged to depart from his pacific system, began to make extensive preparations for the contest. War

being declared in form against
A. D. 1739.

Spain, Admiral Vernon, who had asserted in the House of Commons, that with only six ships of war he could take and demolish Porto Bello, was sent to make the experiment. The ministers, who deemed the enterprise romantic, considered it as a fair opportunity of removing, to a distance, a troublesome opponent, and expected that its failure would involve the admiral in disgrace.* In this, however, they were disappointed. Vernon succeeded according to his wish. With his small force he attacked and carried Porto Bello, demolished the fortifica-

* Smollet's Continuation of Hume, 3. p. 34.

tions, and returned victorious with an inconsiderable loss. This success of the British arms induced the commons to enter with alacrity and vigour into all the measures necessary for a vigorous prosecution of the war. A grand expedition was planned, the object of which was to strike a decisive blow against Spain in the very centre of her American empire.* Commodore, afterwards admiral lord Anson, was sent with five sail of the line, a frigate, and two storeships, in order to pass through the straits of Magellan, into the south sea, to act against the Spaniards on the coasts of Chili and Peru, and ultimately to co-operate across the isthmus of Darien with a more powerful armament, which was to make Carthagena the first object of its attack.† Anson, after surmounting innumerable difficulties, entered the Pacific ocean; but some of his ships being wrecked, and the rest dispersed by tempests, and the scurvy making terrible ravages among his men, he found himself totally unable to proceed to action. He therefore steered to the

* "The scheme was well laid, but ruined by unnecessary delays and unforeseen accidents." Smollet's contin. of Hume, 3. p. 41.

† Anson was sent out with a force totally unfit for such an expedition. The reader will be astonished to find that a great part of his force consisted of invalids, &c. See his voyage in general collection of voyages.

island of Juan Fernandez, where he was joined by the *Tyr*al frigate, and remained some time, in order to repair his ships and restore the health of his men, whose number was greatly diminished by that dreadful disease. Advancing northward towards the tropic of Capricorn, he surprised and plundered the town of Païta in the night, and gained a very rich booty. This small squadron at length reached the bay of Panama, on the southern side of the isthmus of Darien; but the ill success of the attempt on Carthagena had already disconcerted the whole plan of the expedition.

The armament sent against that important city and fortress consisted of twenty-nine ships of the line, and nearly the same number of frigates, well furnished with all kinds of warlike stores, and with about fifteen thousand seamen and twelve thousand land forces on board. The fleet was commanded by admiral Vernon and the army by general Wentworth.* Their operations, at first, were successful: the troops being landed on the island of Terra Bomba, near the mouth of the harbour called Bocca Chica, made themselves masters

* Lord Cathcart had been appointed to the command of the land forces; but by his death on the passage it devolved on general Wentworth.

of the forts, and prepared to attack the city. But they soon found a greater opposition than they had expected. The dissensions which arose between the naval and military commanders also contributed, in no small degree, to retard and perplex the operations; and in the attack of fort Lazaro the English were repulsed with an almost incredible loss. At the same time the rainy season commencing, the unhealthiness of the climate produced a fatal epidemical fever among the troops, and compelled them to retire as soon as possible from this scene of slaughter and contagion. It has been asserted that twenty thousand of the British perished in this ill-fated enterprise. The number has, perhaps, been exaggerated through hatred to the ministry, but it is certain that the loss was extraordinary. Such was the termination of the ill-fated expedition to Carthagera, the failure of which appears to have been owing to two principal causes, the delay of the ministry in not sending out the armament till the season was too far advanced, and the dissensions of the commanders, which prevented them from acting with concert and promptitude.*

* For a detailed account of this expedition, vide Smollet's *Cont. Hume*, 3. p. ch. 7th.

This fatal miscarriage excited great discontent throughout the whole kingdom, and the greatest part of the blame fell on the minister. The activity of the Spaniards, in distressing the English trade, greatly contributed to increase the murmurs of the people. In the space of less than two years, their privateers had captured more than four hundred vessels belonging to the subjects of Great Britain, whose numerous fleets, equipped at a vast expence, seemed to make no efforts for the protection of her commerce.* All the adherents of the prince of Wales, who now lived retired from court, concurred in the opposition to the minister. The general discontent which pervaded the kingdom, had a manifest influence in the election of members for a new parliament; and the commons were no sooner met than it was visible that the country party had gained the ascendancy. The minister had no other means of maintaining his power than by detaching the prince of Wales from the opposition, which he attempted by the flattering offers of procuring him an increase of salary. But the prince generously disdained to receive any favours or emoluments through

* Smollet, 3. ch. 7. p. 71.

such a channel. Sir Robert now saw himself left with a minority in the house, and being created earl of Orford, resigned all his employments.*

Never was joy more general than that which the resignation of Walpole produced. But the people were disappointed in the expectations which they had formed from that event. The war with Spain, was still attended with very indifferent success; and the disasters which too often attended the British arms, especially in the West Indies, were aggravated by a number of political writers. The popular clamour, with the want of success in a naval war, induced the ministry to divert the public attention to a different scene, and the circumstances of Europe favoured their views. In the year 1740, the emperor Charles VI. departed this life, having previously settled the succession of his hereditary dominions on his daughter Maria Theresa. This act of settlement, called the pragmatic sanction, had been guaranteed by all the powers of Europe. But treaties may be regarded as political playthings: they amuse for awhile, and afterwards are thrown aside and neglected. The daughter

* Smollet, 3. ch. 7. p. 71, 72, 75, 77.

of Charles VI. descended from a long and illustrious line of emperors, had scarcely closed her father's eyes, before she saw herself in danger of being stripped of all her dominions, which were at once attacked by Prussia, France, Bavaria, and Saxony. During the space of a year, she struggled with the storm, without any hopes of succour, till the dangers which menaced the electorate of Hanover, as well as the political balance of Europe, raised her up a powerful ally in Great Britain. Sardinia and Holland soon after came to her assistance, and Russia, at length, espoused her cause. A British army being sent to the continent, was joined by sixteen thousand Hanoverians; and the war with Spain was now regarded only as a secondary object. From this period the young queen of Hungary began to triumph over her enemies. The troops sent from England to her assistance were commanded by the earl of Stair, an able and experienced general, who had learned the art of war under prince Eugene, and his military talents were no disgrace to so celebrated a master. His first object was to effect a junction with the Austrian army, under prince Charles of Lorrain. In order to prevent the execution of this design, marshal Noailles, with an army of sixty thou-

sand French, posted himself on the eastern bank of the Mayne, and, at the same time, found means to cut off every communication by which the British army could be supplied with provisions. At this critical juncture the king of England arrived at the camp, and seeing the army in danger of starving, resolved to attempt a junction with twelve thousand Hanoverians and Hessians who had reached Hanau. But he had marched only nine miles before he found himself completely surrounded by the French, who injudiciously attacked him in a position where they might have starved his army, by cutting off all his supplies. In this action, George June 26th, A. D. 1743. II. displayed great personal courage, and exposed himself to a heavy fire both of cannon and musquetry.* His army, consisting of forty thousand men, was greatly inferior in number to that of the enemy; but his presence and example animated the troops, and contributed to decide the fate of the day. The French were repulsed with the loss of near five thousand men; but although the English had the honour of the day, their victory was not productive of any important consequences.

* Smollet, 3. p. 107, &c. The duke of Cumberland displayed extraordinary courage, and was shot through the calf of his leg.

England and France had hitherto acted only as auxiliaries in a foreign quarrel ; but they were now about to become principals both in the continental and maritime war. From the violence of the parliamentary disputes, which had continued so many years, the court of Versailles imagined that England was ripe for another revolution ; and that, if the Pretender should make his appearance, the whole kingdom would rise in his favour. An invasion of England was therefore projected ; and preparations were made for embarking fifteen thousand men at Dunkirk and other parts on the channel. The celebrated count de Saxe was appointed to the command of this army ; and the Duc de Ronqueseuille, with twenty ships of the line, was to cover its landing in England.* But the project was disconcerted by the appearance of an English fleet of superior force. The French fleet being obliged to retire to their ports, and their transports being also damaged by a storm, all the hopes which they had conceived from this project, were frustrated. The court of Versailles issued a declaration of war against England ; and the operations were carried on by land and by

* Count de Saxe was natural son to Augustus, king of Poland, by the countess of Koningmark.

sea with a variety of success. The combined fleets of France and Spain, though inferior in force, engaged the British armament under admirals Mathews and Lestock ; but after a long and obstinate contest, neither side could boast of any advantage ; and so indecisive an action was regarded, in England, as little better than a defeat.

But while the efforts of Great Britain met with so little success, and her formidable armaments brought her neither conquest nor glory, some fortunate events contributed to raise the drooping spirits of the nation. When commodore Anson, whom we left in the bay of Panama, was informed of the failure of the expedition against Carthagena, he formed the project of capturing one of the rich vessels, which annually sailed between Acapulca and Manilla, as the only means left of annoying the Spaniards, and acquiring glory and wealth.* His whole force, which now consisted of only two ships, the rest having returned to England, or been wrecked by the tempests, was soon reduced to one, the other proving leaky, and the number of his men being greatly diminished by the ravages of

* Acapulca is on the western coast of Mexico : Manilla is situated in the island of the same name, one of the Philipines. The distance is about 7870 geographical miles.

the scurvy, which had renewed its dreadful visitation. The unserviceable vessel being set on fire in the midst of the ocean, he pursued his course towards the west in the *Centurian*, of sixty guns, and at length reached the island of *Tinian*. His crew were now reduced to a most deplorable condition; but the refreshments which that island afforded, preserved them from total destruction. In this salubrious spot he remained long enough to repair his ship, and to re-establish the health of his crew: after which he proceeded to *China*. At *Canton* he refitted his ship; and having taken Dutch and Indian seamen on board to fill up the vacancies occasioned by the ravages of disease, he returned towards *America*. At length he discovered, and after
June 9th,
A. D. 1744. a short but brisk action, captured the galleon which he had so long and so anxiously expected. He then returned with his prize to *Canton*, and from thence proceeded on his voyage by the *Cape of Good Hope* to *England*, where he safely arrived with vast riches, his different captures amounting to considerably more than half a million of money. In this voyage, which had lasted almost three years, commodore *Anson* had circumnavigated the globe; and, on his return, he received that honour to which

prudence and perseverance are justly entitled. He was afterwards raised by the king to the peerage, and made first lord of the admiralty.

The following year was marked
A. D. 1745. with important events; and the

belligerent powers experienced a variety of fortune. In the Netherlands, the French had brought into the field an army of above a hundred thousand men, commanded by mareschal count de Saxe. With this force they commenced the siege of Tournay; and the ardent desire of the allies to prevent the loss of that city, occasioned the memorable battle of Fontenoy. Their army consisting of English, Hanoverians, Austrians, and Dutch, amounted to about seventy thousand, and was commanded by the duke of Cumberland. The French were posted on an eminence, with a wood on their left, the village of St. Antoine on their right, and that of Fontenoy in their front. This strong position did not

deter the duke of Cumberland from
April 30th, commencing the attack. The king
A. D. 1745. of France and the Dauphin were present at the battle: mareschal Saxe, who was sick, visited all the posts in a litter, and soon perceived that the day was his own. For some time, however, the British infantry pressing forward, bore down all opposition;

but the column advancing without command too far within the enemy's lines, was inclosed on each side, and exposed to a heavy fire of artillery. About three in the afternoon, the fate of the day was decided in favour of the French. This was one of the bloodiest battles of the eighteenth century. The allies left about twelve thousand dead on the field; and the French lost nearly an equal number.* Their victory, which was followed by the capture of Tournay, gave them a decided superiority in the Netherlands, not only throughout the remainder of the campaign, but during the continuance of the war. The naval efforts of Great Britain, however, began to be crowned with success: the admirals Rowley and Warren retrieved the honour of the national flag and made several rich captures; and general Pepperel made himself master of Louisburg, in the isle of Cape Breton, a place of great importance to the British commerce.† At the same time, a change in the ministry had restored internal union in the kingdom. The administration of affairs being committed to the earls of Harrington and Chesterfield, who possessed

* Smollet, 3. p. 149, 150.

† For a detailed account of this transaction, see Smollet, 3. p. 152, &c.

great popularity, the measures of the crown were no longer impeded by an opposition in parliament, nor checked by the clamours of the people.

In this season of universal satisfaction, a moment so inauspicious to his designs, Charles Edward, son of the Pretender, resolved to make an effort for gaining the British crown. This young adventurer was ambitious and enterprising, but totally inexperienced: he had been misled to believe that the nation was ripe for a revolt; and his aspiring views were encouraged by the court of France, which hoped to derive some advantage from his attempt. Accompanied by the marquis of Tullibardine, Sir Thomas Sheridan, and a few other desperate adven-

July 7th,
A. D. 1745. turers, he landed near Lochaber, in Scotland. For the conquest of the whole British empire, he brought with him only seven officers, and arms for two thousand men! In a little time, however, he was joined by some Highland chiefs with their clans. It is requisite here to observe, that the feudal system, which had long been abolished in England, still subsisted in Scotland, and the vassals were obliged to join the standard of their lord. In the Highlands especially, the people being divided into

tribes or clans, of which the individual members were united by consanguinity, the chiefs possessed a kind of patriarchal as well as feudal authority. This state of things greatly facilitated the raising of an army, as the people, both from duty and inclination, were ready to follow their leaders. From the operation of these circumstances, Charles Edward soon saw himself at the head of fifteen hundred men; and his manifestos, inviting others to join him, were dispersed through the Highlands. The young adventurer then marched to Perth, where he proclaimed his father king of Great Britain. From thence he proceeded to Edinburgh, and entered the city without opposition; but the castle resisted the attempts of his undisciplined troops. Here he repeated the ceremony of proclaiming his father, and promised the people a redress of all grievances.

On the first news of this invasion, the ministry had sent Sir John Cope, with a considerable force, to oppose the progress of the rebels.* But at Preston Pans, about
Sept. 21, twelve miles from Edinburgh, he
A. D. 1745. was attacked by the young Pretender, and, in a few minutes, totally defeated

* General Cope had near 3000 men: the Pretender had 2400.—
Smollet, vol. 3. p. 162.

with the loss of five hundred men. This victory gave the rebels great influence, and had Charles Edward immediately marched into England, the consequences might have been dangerous to the state. But either his own inexperience, or the advice of his counsellors, or probably the expectation of augmenting his forces, induced him to consume too much time in the capital of Scotland. He was, indeed, joined by the earl of Kilmarnock, the lord Balmerino, and the eldest son of lord Lovat, with several more Scottish chiefs; but his delay at Edinburgh gave time to the ministry to take proper measures for defeating his projects. Volunteers were armed in different parts of the kingdom; and the duke of Cumberland, who was idolized by the British army, brought over a strong force from Flanders.

At length the Pretender resolved to try his fortune in England, and entered the kingdom by the western border.* Carlisle was invested, and in less than three days surrendered to his arms. Marching on foot in a Highland dress, he proceeded to Penrith, and from thence to Manchester, where he was

* The Pretender expected to be joined by great numbers in England, and also that an invasion from France would be made in the south. Smollet, 3. p. 168.

joined by about two hundred English. From Manchester he advanced to Derby, which was the ultimate point of his progress. At this time London was filled with consternation. The ministers were at a loss in what manner to act: they expected, every hour, an invasion from France, and an insurrection at home in favour of the Pretender. A general rising of the Roman catholics was particularly dreaded: but scarcely any respectable persons of that persuasion in England joined the rebel standard.* The trading part of the metropolis was overwhelmed with dejection; and, as it is common in similar cases, the impulse of terror magnified the appearance of danger. At this critical juncture, the king had resolved to take the field in person; and numerous associations of volunteers were formed for the defence of the country. Happily, however, the retreat of the rebels soon dispelled the public apprehensions. The feudal system, which so greatly facilitates the raising of an army, is extremely unfavourable to military discipline and subordination. The Pretender was, therefore, no more than

* Smollet appears to have made an erroneous computation in stating the Pretender's force at only 5000 men when he entered England, as he had 8000 at Derby, and had not been joined by more than two or three hundred English.

the nominal leader of his forces. His generals, the chiefs of the Highland clans, were ignorant of the art of regular war; and their independency rendering them haughty and obstinate, their councils were perplexed, and their progress impeded by their private dissensions and disputes for pre-eminence. In the evening of the second day, after their arrival at Derby, they called a council of war: the debates were exceedingly violent: and they finally resolved to march back into Scotland.* The principal causes of this resolution were supposed to be the backwardness of the English to join their standard, and the great strength and rapid approaches of the army, commanded by the duke of Cumberland.† But whatever were their motives, they remained only two nights at Derby, and on the following morning commenced a precipitate retreat.‡ In this irruption the rebels, observing the rules of war,

Dec. 6th,
A. D. 1745.

* For various particulars concerning the proceedings of the rebels at Derby, see Pilkinton's *View of Derbyshire*, vol. 2.

† A circumstance of superstition has been related, as contributing to influence their determination: it is said that when the Pretender's standard was taken into his lodgings, it was broken at the entrance into the door—an accident which affected, in no small degree, the minds of some of their chiefs, who regarded it as ominous of their future fate. *Pilkinton's View of Derbyshire*, vol. 2. p. 191.

‡ According to a return made by order of the magistrates, the number of rebels, quartered in Derby the first night, was 7008, and the second night, 7148, exclusive of women and children. The whole

had, in a great measure, desisted from plunder, and levied regular contributions. The Pretender, on his arrival in Scotland, being joined by lord Lewis Gordon, lord John Drummond, and other chiefs, with their clans to the amount of two thousand men, invested the castle of Stirling. General Hawley, who commanded a strong body of troops, marched to attempt its relief; and having advanced to Falkirk, was there attacked by the rebels. The Pretender,

Jan. 17th,
A. D. 1746. who stood in the front line, gave the signal for battle, and the first fire threw the king's troops into confusion. Their cavalry were driven back upon their infantry; and the rebels following up their blow, the royal army fled with the greatest precipitation, leaving their artillery and camp equipage to the victors.

The triumph of the Pretender, however, was but momentary. The duke of Cumberland was marching against him with an army

number of effective men, including the prince's guard, the guard of the artillery, which consisted of thirteen pieces, and the various patrols and centries, might therefore be estimated at about eight thousand. Ibid.—Historians seldom meet with so authentic a statement of numbers.

Smollet and many others suppose, that, if the Pretender had proceeded with his usual expedition, he might have made himself master of London; but he must first have hazarded an engagement, and even have run the risk of being inclosed by three armies, each superior to his own in numbers, discipline, and artillery. Smollet, 3. p. 169.

considerably superior in numbers, as well as in discipline; and the young adventurer found it necessary to retreat to the Highlands. At Aberdeen his royal highness was joined by the duke of Gordon, and some other lords, who were attached to the government; and after remaining there for some time to refresh his men, he continued his pursuit of the enemy. The rebels now seemed to be without subordination, counsel, or conduct. Instead of availing themselves of the strong positions which the country afforded, they adopted the desperate resolution of hazarding a battle in the open plain of Culloden, near Inverness.* Here the rebels, about nine thousand in number, were drawn up, in order of battle, in thirteen divisions.† The royal army consisted of, at least, fourteen thousand well disciplined troops. The action began April 15th, about one in the afternoon; and A. D. 1746. the duke of Cumberland's cannon made dreadful havoc among the rebels—while theirs, being ill served, did but little execution. After they had stood for some time

* Culloden Muir, or the plain of Culloden, is about ten miles to the eastward of Inverness.

† As the rebels, when at Derby, amounted to about 8000, and as they had been joined by about 2000 more since their return to Scotland, it appears that, after deducting their losses at the battle of Falkirk, and in several skirmishes, their army must have been about 9000 strong at Culloden.

the fire of the royal army, they became impatient for close engagement; and about five hundred of them attacked the left wing of the English with such impetuosity as to throw the first line into disorder. Two battalions immediately advanced to the support of the left, and galled the rebels by a terrible and close discharge. The English, at the same time, having pulled down a park wall, which covered the flank of the rebels, but which they had left feebly defended, fell in among them, sword in hand, with great slaughter. In a short time the rebels were totally routed. Three thousand, killed and wounded, were left on the field, and the rest of their army dispersed into different parts of the country. The victory gained by the royal army was decisive, but humanity would have rendered it more glorious. The English troops sullied by their cruelty the military character and the honour of the nation, and rendered the whole country around a scene of plunder, devastation, and carnage.*

Thus were extinguished all the hopes of the adventurer. Reduced from a nominal king to a forlorn and distressed fugitive, he wandered from mountain to mountain amidst

* For an account of the horrid ravages committed by the English army, see Smollet, 3. p. 183.

the desert wilds of the Highlands, and experienced a series of hardships and difficulties of escapes and adventures similar to those of Charles II. after the battle of Worcester. Sometimes he found refuge in the cottages of peasants, who could afford him pity, but little relief: sometimes he lay in the forests, with one or two companions of his distress; but, what must seem most astonishing, although he was obliged, at different times, to trust his life to the fidelity of above fifty individuals, and the price of thirty thousand pounds was set on his head, yet so great a reward did not tempt any one to betray him. In this manner he wandered, during nearly the space of six months, among the dreary wilds of Glengary, constantly hunted, and sometimes hemmed in by his pursuers, but still finding some expedient to save himself out of their hands. At length a vessel of St. Maloes, hired by his adherents, arriving at Loch-nanach, he embarked and reached France in safety, after having learned, by dear bought experience, the troubles attending the views of ambition.

While the prince led a wandering life in the Highlands, the scaffolds and gibbets were bathed with the blood of his partizans. The earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie, with the

lord Balmerino, were tried and found guilty. Cromartie was pardoned ; but the two others were beheaded on Tower-hill. Kilmarnock acknowledged his crime, and professed his repentance: Balmerino stood firm to his principles, and in his last moments displayed the most dauntless intrepidity. Lord Lovat, and Mr. Ratchiffe, the titular earl of Derwentwater, suffered the same fate with equal resolution. Fifty other officers of the rebel army, were executed in different places, and most of them met their fate with a fortitude worthy of a better cause. Some obtained pardons, and a considerable number of the lower orders were transported to the plantations. Such was the result of an enterprise which, originating from presumption, was conducted without policy or skill, and of which the temerity astonished all Europe. One beneficial consequence, however, arose from this rebellion, which had so dangerously agitated the empire. In order to prevent a repetition of similar evils, the feudal system of the Highlands was abolished by act of parliament, and the lowest subject, in that part of the kingdom, acquired the participation of British freedom.

Tranquillity was now restored in Great Britain ; but the war continued to rage with

increased violence on the continent. Since their victory at Fontenoy, the French had pushed forward with rapid success, and reduced almost the whole of the Netherlands. The Dutch saw themselves stripped of the barrier granted them by the treaty of Utrecht, and their own dominions exposed to invasion. They endeavoured, by negotiation, to avoid the calamities of war; but, finding their efforts ineffectual, they resolved to commence hostilities with France. Thus the war was diffused through almost every part of the European system; and the detail of its various events would fill folios of history. In many of these, however, Great Britain was not directly concerned.* The English, indeed, sent out an expedition against Port l'Orient, in which they gained neither advantage nor honour. And an armament, sent out by the French for the recovery of Cape Breton, proved equally unsuccessful. The British admirals, Anson, Warren, and Hawke, obtained several advantages at sea. But in the Netherlands the French were invariably victorious. Having defeated the allies at La Feldt†,

* Great Britain paid subsidies to the empress, queen of Hungary, the king of Sardinia, the Hanoverians, the Hessians, and to the electors of Cologne, Mentz, and Bavaria. Smollet, 3. p. 203.

† At La Feldt the duke of Cumberland displayed great courage and activity; and Sir John Ligonier was taken prisoner.

their victory was followed by the capture of Bergen-op-Zoom, a place of extraordinary strength. The loss of this important fortress reduced the allies to the last extremity ; and the Dutch, especially, almost to despair. But these triumphs of the French in the Netherlands were counterbalanced by their losses in Italy. The war was thus, on both sides, an alternation of success and miscarriage : all the parties engaged in the contest saw their resources exhausted, and none of them acquired any real compensation for their losses. Great Britain, in particular, though successful at sea, saw her army on the continent in danger of destruction ; and her national debt, which, before the commencement of the war, had been reduced to less than forty-six millions and a half, was increased to above seventy-eight millions.* And France, though still able to carry on the war with vigour by land, had reason to apprehend the annihilation of her commerce and marine. All the belligerent powers, therefore, being weary of a war by which they were all so great losers, a congress was held at Aix-la-Chapelle, and

* At the commencement of the war with Spain, in 1739, the national debt was reduced to £46,392,650. but at the conclusion of the war in 1748, it was advanced to £78,166,906. *Ree's Cyclopæd.* article debts.

Oct. 7th,
A. D. 1748. a general peace was concluded. The king of Prussia was confirmed in the possession of Silesia; and the queen of Hungary in that of the rest of her patrimonial dominions. The duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, were ceded to the infant Don Philip, reserving their reversion to the house of Austria, in case of his succession to the Spanish throne. In the treaty between England, France, and Spain, it was agreed that all conquests should be restored; but no mention was made of the right of the Spaniards to search English ships in the American seas; so that this question, which had been the original cause of the war, was left undetermined.* This treaty, however, was highly extolled, although that of Utrecht was held in universal contempt; so incompetent are the people to judge of political affairs. The multitude is dazzled by success; and England concluded the peace of Utrecht in a moment of victory, when nothing seemed able to resist the power of her arms. But, at the time of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the national spirit was broken by the misfortunes of many tedious campaigns: the people were weary of the burdens of a continental

* Smollet, 3. p. 232.

war, and the support of foreign subsidies ; and nothing but disgrace and disaster were expected from the continuance of such a system. The general restitution which was the basis of the treaty, is the highest encomium on the administration of Sir Robert Walpole, whose pacific system would have saved to his country so many thousands of lives, and so many millions of money.* Of all the wars recorded in history, that which preceded the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle is the greatest burlesque on the madness of nations: the people of England were clamorous for war: they were soon as impatient for peace: almost all the great powers of Europe exhausted their resources and slaughtered many hundreds of thousands of their subjects, and after all this waste of blood and of treasure they ended, like travellers moving in a circle, exactly at the point where they began. What a misfortune, or rather a madness, that nations cannot enjoy with satisfaction the blessings of peace, and that statesmen, instead of forming romantic views of external aggrandizement, will not direct their principal attention to plans of internal improvement,

* Scarcely ever did any minister bear a greater load of public obloquy than Sir Robert Walpole ; but there had never been one under whom the country had enjoyed a greater share of felicity.

which would afford sufficient occupation to the greatest genius and the most active abilities, and could not fail of producing general prosperity and happiness.

Soon after the peace was concluded, the parliament met, and his majesty opened the session by a speech fraught with the genuine expressions of patriotism. The parliament, however, was divided into two parties, one of which approved and the other condemned the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; and the ministers were encountered by a strong opposition, which, as usual, censured every measure of government. But during this period of parliamentary debate, the ministry appeared sincerely desirous of providing for the prosperity of the nation, by promoting divers regulations for the improvement of commerce, and most of these met with the concurrence of parliament. A colony, consisting chiefly of the officers and seamen dismissed from the army and navy, was established in Nova Scotio. For the encouragement of those who were willing to become settlers, the perpetual property of fifty acres of land was given to each private soldier and seaman, with ten acres for every individual besides, of both sexes of whom his family consisted, and further grants in proportion as their number increased. To

every officer, below the rank of an ensign, was granted eighty, to ensigns two hundred, to lieutenants three hundred, to captains four hundred; and to every one above that degree six hundred acres, with proportional considerations for the number and increase of each family. All the colonists were conveyed to their destination, and supported for one year, as well as provided with arms and ammunition for their defence, and with proper materials and utensils for agriculture, fishing, &c. at the expence of the government. These encouragements were so inviting, that above four thousand families embarked under the conduct of governor Cornwallis, and founded the town of Halifax.

A. D. 1749.

This session of parliament was distinguished by the boldest measure of finance that, perhaps, ever took place in any country, without infringing the public faith. According to a plan projected by Mr. Pelham, the minister, the parliament passed an act, by which the interest of the national debt was reduced from four to three and a half per cent. for seven years, and to three per cent. after the expiration of that period; and those creditors who did not chuse to accede to the arrangement, were to be paid

their principals out of the sinking fund. The obstacles to this measure appeared at first insurmountable; but they soon vanished before the fortitude, perseverance, and precaution of the minister, who had secured among the monied men the promise of such sums as would have been sufficient to pay off the capitals of those creditors, who might have refused to accept the reduced interest.* But almost all the public creditors at length consented to continue their money in the funds; and this great financial regulation was effected without causing any disturbance in the state, a circumstance which astonished all Europe.

In the spring of the ensuing year, Great Britain sustained a loss which excited an universal regret. His royal highness the prince of Wales, who was possessed of every great and amiable quality that could engage the affections of a nation, expired
March 20th, A. D. 1750. of a pleuritic disorder, in the forty-fifth year of his age. The people of Great Britain were sincerely afflicted to see a prince of such merit ravished from their hopes; and the king adopted the most prudent measures

* Smollet 3, p. 279, &c.

for securing the royal succession and the peace of the nation, in case of a future minority.*

A. D. 1751, 1752,
and 1753.

The happy interval of external and internal tranquillity which followed the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, still continued; and during that period the affairs of Great Britain, and of Europe in general, furnish little matter to the historian.† A considerable opposition existed between the ministerial and the popular party; but although it appeared on particular occasions, yet the court and the parliament concurred in almost every measure that promised to redound to the public advantage. The Turkey trade, hitherto monopolized by a company, was now laid open. An act which was passed for the naturalization of the Jews, did honour to the liberal sentiments of the British senate; and the reverend bench of bishops, with a laudable spirit of christian philanthropy, generally approved of this indulgence to the Hebrew nation. The clamours

* George II. was then in the 67th year of his age, and his present Majesty being born June 4th, 1738, was only in his twelfth.

† According to Smollet, the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was followed by a relaxation of morals and a frequency of enormous crimes which disgraced the character and polity of the nation. Robbery and rapine, murder, forgery, &c. were common. Smollet 3. p. 617 and 618.

of a bigotted people, however, found means to counteract these benevolent intentions. Religious bigotry, though greatly weakened, will, perhaps, never be totally extirpated. And lord Lyttleton, in discussing this subject in the house, judiciously observed, that in every country there exists, among the mass of the people, a leaven of superstition, ready to ferment on certain occasions.* As it was evident that, considering the disposition of the people, the naturalization act would never induce any opulent and respectable jews to settle in England, it could not be productive of any benefit to that people or of any national advantage, and it was therefore repealed in the following session.†

The peace of Aix-la-Chappelle having left many claims undetermined, and the boundaries of the French and English settlements in North America undefined, afforded various pretexts for new quarrels. The affairs of India were also left in so unsettled a state, that hostilities continued in that country till the year 1754, when they were at last terminated or rather suspended by a treaty concluded between the two East India companies

* Lord Lyttleton's speech on the repeal of the jews naturalization bill.

† Anderson's Hist. Comm. 3. p. 297.

of England and France. But while tranquillity was restored in Asia, the seeds of a new war were sown in America. In the extensive and uncultivated regions of that quarter of the globe, the limits of the French and English claims being not defined with such accuracy as to exclude all cause of dispute, the court of Versailles soon found a pretext for seizing all the country on the shores of the great lakes and on the banks of the Ohio, and formed the great design of constructing a chain of forts from the river St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Mississippi. It was easy to perceive that the execution of this project would reduce the British settlements to a narrow shred of land along the coast of the Atlantic, and eventually expose them to entire subjugation. The court of London remonstrated against these encroachments, but received evasive answers. It was evident, from the proceedings of the French governors in America, that a deliberate plan had been formed for expelling the English from that continent. But while the ports of France resounded with the bustle of naval armaments, and the embarkation of troops for establishing an universal empire on the North American continent, the court of Versailles continued to amuse the British government

with general assurances of its pacific intentions. The French court, indeed, would gladly have avoided hostilities until the line of forts from Canada to the Mississippi could be completed, and the communication secured; but its designs were too apparent to be covered by any disguise; and remonstrances proving ineffectual, his Britannic majesty began to make vigorous preparations for war.

A. D. 1755.

The encroachments of the French in America having rendered reprisals both justifiable and necessary, admiral Boscawen, with eleven sail of the line and a frigate, was sent to the coast of Newfoundland. A French fleet arrived at the same time in that quarter, and entered the river St. Lawrence; but a part of the English squadron fell in with and captured two of their ships. Orders were also issued for making general reprisals in Europe as well as America, and were so effectually executed, that, before the end of this year, three hundred of the French merchant ships, and eight thousand of their seamen were brought into the British ports, a loss of which their commerce and marine felt the effects during the whole continuance of the war.

But it was not solely by sea that the energy of the nation was thus actively displayed. In

America various expeditions were projected against the French forts at the back of the English settlements. Colonel Monckton reduced the forts which they had erected on the borders of Nova Scotia, and secured that province. But general Braddock, who had sailed with an armament from Ireland to expel the French from the banks of the Ohio,

July 9th,
A. D. 1755. fell into an ambuscade, and was defeated and slain.* This loss

was, in some degree, compensated by the success of general Johnson, who, about the same time, defeated a body of two thousand French and Indians near Crown Point. The loss of the English was about two hundred men: that of the enemy above seven hundred, besides a few prisoners, among whom was their commander. Another expedition against fort Niagara was conducted by general Shirley; but it failed of success through its being undertaken too late in the season.

A. D. 1756. The people of England, indignant at the encroachments of the French, entered with alacrity into the views

* Smollett ascribes his misfortune in part to the delay of the Virginian contractors, and partly to his own too rash courage and his want of experience in the mode of American warfare. Vol. 3. p. 445 and 440.

of the government, and poured their loans into the treasury. Though the advantages gained in America were counterbalanced by at least equal losses, the successes of the English cruisers animated the hopes of the nation, and promised protection to trade. In the commencement of this year the French equipped a formidable squadron at Brest, and assembling a considerable number of land forces and transports, openly threatened Great Britain with invasion. The ministry, in the mean while, took every precaution for repelling the attack. Mr. Fox, who had now been made secretary of state, moved in the house an address to the king, beseeching his majesty to order twelve battalions of his electoral troops to be brought into the kingdom. After some debate the motion was agreed to, and such expedition was used that in the space of a month a considerable number both of Hanoverians and Hessians arrived in England.

But under the appearance of an invading armament, which engrossed the whole attention of the British nation, the French had concealed their real design; and while their preparations at Brest menaced the coasts of England, an expedition sailed from Toulon against the island of Minorca. This was no

sooner known than admiral Byng was sent with ten sail of the line to the Mediterranean. But his squadron being inferior to that of the enemy, both in number of ships and in weight of metal, he hazarded only a partial action with the French admiral Galissoniere, and, deeming the relief of Minorca impracticable, abandoned that important place to its fate. General Blakeney, the governor, being shut up in fort St. Philips, made a vigorous defence; but being left destitute of all hopes of succour, was at length obliged to surrender to the Duc de Richelieu, who had employed an army of twenty thousand men in the reduction of this island. The loss of Minorca was considered as a great national disgrace; but instead of producing dejection and despondency, it excited an universal clamour of resentment among the people, not only against admiral Byng, but also against the ministers, who were accused of having neglected the security of so important a place. The weight of the storm, however, fell on the admiral, who being tried by a court martial, was acquitted of the imputations of cowardice or treachery, but adjudged guilty of a breach of the twelfth article of war, founded on an act of parliament passed in the twenty-second year of George II. which condemns to death

every person who, in time of action, shall, as through fear or disaffection, not do his utmost, &c. The members of the court considering all the circumstances of the case, strongly recommended him to his majesty's clemency. His friends and relatives also exerted all their influence in his favour. His majesty, in consequence of the representations of the lords of the admiralty, referred the matter to the decision of the twelve judges, who were unanimously of opinion that the sentence was legal. A warrant was accordingly issued for his execution, and he

March 14th,
A. D. 1757.

was shot on the quarter deck of the *Monarque*, which was lying at anchor off Portsmouth. From the time that he received his sentence to the last moments of his life, he displayed an undaunted composure of mind; he met his fate with an intrepidity sufficient to wipe from his character any imputation of deficiency in personal courage, and expressed his confidence that an impartial and discerning public would, at a future period, do justice to his reputation.*

During these transactions in Europe, scenes of high import were opening in Asia. Sur-Rajah-Al-Dowlat, a young man of impetuous

* See admiral Byng's letter delivered to the marshal of the admiralty a few moments before his execution.

passions, but destitute of principle and prudence, having succeeded to the soubahship of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixá, resolved to expel the English from the settlements and factories which they held in those provinces. By the means of force and fraud intermixed, he made himself master of Cassimbuzzar. He then invested Calcutta with a numerous army. The governor, with some of the principal persons of the settlement, took refuge on board a ship in the river, with the most valuable effects and the books of the company. Mr. Holwell, the second in command, with a few brave officers, and a very feeble garrison, defended the fort against several furious assaults, till overpowered by numbers, he was obliged to surrender, on the soubah's promise of good treatment to him and his companions. But, in direct violation of good faith, they were all, to the number of 146 persons, driven into a place called the black hole prison, which was only about eighteen feet square. It is impossible to reflect, without horror, on the miserable situation of such a number of persons so closely crowded together during the space of a whole night, under the sultry climate of Bengal; and it would hurt the feelings of the reader to relate the particulars of this fatal tragedy. It

suffices to say, that no more than twenty-three were left alive in the morning, when the soubah sent an order for their release: the rest had expired in all the agonies of suffocation. The wretched survivors, of whom Mr. Holwell was one, were reserved for a series of barbarous treatment, in order to make them discover the treasures, supposed to be concealed in the fort. The soubah being at length convinced that no such deposit existed, they were finally liberated, after undergoing a series of sufferings, which it seems almost miraculous that human nature should be able to support.

While these horrid transactions took place in Bengal, the forces of the East India company, in conjunction with the Mahrattas, were carrying on a successful war against Tullagee Angria, the piratical prince of Geriah, who had become formidable on the Malabar coast. Commodore James, with a squadron from Bombay, had reduced Severndroog and several other forts, and greatly diminished the power of the pirates. But the loss of Calcutta had thrown the affairs of the company into such confusion, that the interposition of a strong national force became necessary. Admiral Watson was sent with a squadron from England, and was

joined at Bombay by a division of the company's ships, with a body of troops commanded by colonel Clive. Their first operations were directed against Geriah, the principal fortress and residence of the pirate Angria, which, after an obstinate defence, surrendered to their arms.

This conquest was only a prelude to more important successes. From the coast of Malabar, the English commanders conducted their armament to Bengal, and proceeding up the Ganges, appeared on the 1st of January, 1757, before Calcutta, which they took the same day by a sudden and vigorous assault. Hugbley, a town of great trade higher up the river, was soon after captured, and its vast magazines were destroyed. Incensed at these losses, the soubah assembled an army of twenty thousand horse and fifteen thousand foot; but was defeated by colonel Clive, after making a feeble resistance. These repeated disasters intimidated the soubah into concessions equally honourable and advantageous to the company; and a treaty of peace was concluded, all the articles of which were signed and sealed with his own hand.

The English commanders, however, had too much discernment to rely on the promises of a barbarian who had perfidiously violated

former engagements ; but they prudently dissembled their sentiments till they had reduced the French power in this part of India. Colonel Clive, at the head of seven hundred Europeans, and one thousand six hundred Indians, began his march to Chandernagore, the principal settlement of the French in Bengal. His operations were seconded by the squadron under admirals Watson and Pocock, and, after a vigorous assault, which continued three hours, that fortress, March 24,
A. D. 1757. though garrisoned by five hundred Europeans and twelve hundred Indians, defended by a hundred and twenty-three pieces of cannon, and well provided with military stores, was taken with an inconsiderable loss.*

In the mean while, the soubah of Bengal, Sur-Rajah-al-Dowlat, notwithstanding his specious promises, was extremely dilatory in fulfilling the articles of the late treaty, and his whole conduct indicated hostile intentions. The renewal of the war against so powerful a prince was dangerous, as on its issue the whole trade of Bengal depended ; and the matter was discussed in the council of Cal-

* Only forty men. Smoll. 4. p. 121. Chandernagore is situated on the Hoogley, or the western arm of the Ganges, a little above Calcutta.

outta with all the circumspection and caution which its importance seemed to demand. A fortunate incident, however, determined the question. A conspiracy was formed against the soubah by Jaffier-Ali-Khan, his prime minister and principal commander, who entered into an alliance with the English, with whom a plan was concerted for the accomplishment of his design. Colonel Clive put himself at the head of his small army, and encamped at Plassey,* where he was attacked

June 23d,
A. D. 1757. by the soubah with a force consisting of fifteen thousand cavalry, and near thirty thousand infantry, with forty pieces of artillery, managed by French cannoneers. The action, however, was so ably conducted by Clive, that victory declared in his favour. Ali Khan now openly declaring himself, was advanced to the soubaship of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixá. The deposed soubah, Sur-Rajah-Al-Dowlat, soon after falling into his hands, was put to death; and thus, within the short space of little more than a year, he met with the fate justly due to his cruelty exercised on the unfortunate prisoners in the black hole at Calcutta. Ali Khan, the new soubah, readily complied with

* The plain of Plassey, or Plainsey, is about eighty miles from Calcutta, and forty from Moorshedabad.

the conditions of his elevation: he conferred on the East India company extraordinary privileges; and this revolution, effected by a handful of men, may be regarded as the foundation of the British empire in India.*

Mr. Pitt, who had now the chief conduct of affairs, introduced into the cabinet a new system of carrying on the war, than which none could be better calculated for reviving the spirits of his countrymen and alarming the enemy. Instead of dreading an invasion, and contenting himself with making preparations for defence, he planned an expedition for carrying the arms of Great Britain into France. The fleet was commanded by the admirals Hawke and Knowles, and the land forces by Sir John Mordaunt. The public was full of expectation; but as soon as the armament reached the French coast, it was found impracticable to make any impression; and the general officers, in a council of war, resolved to return to England without disembarking the troops. The people, however, are always dissatisfied with ill success, though very little qualified to judge of its causes; and as the public expectation had been

* The public joy, occasioned by these events, was greatly diminished by the death of admiral Watson, which happened about this time.

wound up to the highest pitch, the disappointment was proportioned to the sanguine hopes which had been conceived from so formidable an expedition. On the return of

August 6th,
A. D. 1757. the fleet, the whole nation was in a ferment, loudly demanding inquiry.

The commander in chief was brought to a trial before a court martial; but after a minute investigation of the affair, he was honourably acquitted. An expedition against Louisbourg was still more unsuccessful, most of the ships being disabled by a hurricane. Indeed the operations in America were in general disadvantageous to the English, who, although they possessed a decided superiority both of naval and military force, were almost every where worsted by the French general Montcalm, who captured several of their forts, and compelled them to relinquish an extensive and valuable tract of country.

On the continent of Europe the flames of war were rekindled; and Germany was again doomed to see her fertile fields and her opulent cities devastated by contending armies. The mutual jealousies of the courts of Berlin and Vienna were not extinguished by seven years of peace, and both were ready to seize the first favourable opportunity of renewing hostilities. It is not to our purpose to detail

the negotiations, the declarations, memorials, and manifestos of those foreign courts,—devices invented to justify injustice and violence, and to allure deluded nations to support, with their blood and their treasure, the views of ambition. It suffices to say that a treaty concluded between the empress queen of Hungary and the Czarina, had justly alarmed his Prussian majesty, who, secure of the support of Great Britain, resolved to anticipate the attack which he saw so much reason to apprehend. His Britannic majesty, when he saw himself on the eve of a war with France, and expected an attack on Hanover, had sought and obtained the alliance of Prussia for a protection to that electorate. The war which ensued between Prussia and Austria, induced the latter to throw herself into the arms of France. The court of Versailles formed a close union with those of Vienna and Petersburg: Saxony and Sweden at length joined the confederacy against Prussia, and thus, by a combination of circumstances, Great Britain was involved in the heavy expence of a continental war, from which she derived no advantage either to herself or to Hanover.

To guard against the storm, which threatened that electorate, the duke of Cumberland

was sent to take the command of an army of fifty thousand men assembled in Westphalia.* This force being inferior to that which he had to oppose, his royal highness, notwithstanding his experience and courage, was unable to prevent the conquest of Hanover. After an active campaign he found himself so closely pressed by superior numbers, that he concluded with the French general, the mareschal Duc de Richelieu, the famous convention of Closter-Seven, Sept. 8th, A. D. 1757. by which thirty-eight thousand Hanoverians were dispersed in different quarters of cantonment, and the French remained in the undisturbed possession of the electorate.†

This convention, however, was equally disagreeable to the courts both of London and Versailles: the former saw the electorate of Hanover left at the mercy of the enemy: the latter thought the articles too favourable to an army which had been inclosed on every side, and must soon after have surrendered at discretion; but above all it was reprobated by

* Of these 28,000 were Hanoverians, 12,000 Hessians, 6,000 Brunswickers, 2,000 Saxegothians, 1000 Lüneburghers, and the rest Prussians. Smollet's Continuation of Hume, 4. p. 152, &c.

† For the articles of the convention at large see Smollet 4. p. 164, &c.

the king of Prussia, who apprehended that Great Britain, having nothing left to fight for on the continent, would abandon his interests. It was impossible that an agreement, which none of the parties approved should be lasting. The court of Versailles refused to acknowledge its validity, unless the Hanoverian troops should be disarmed; and the French general not only exhausted the country by levying exorbitant contributions, but connived at outrages which reflected disgrace on his dignity and on the character of his nation. These manifest violations of the convention having freed his Britannic majesty from all the obligations which it imposed, he ordered his Hanoverian subjects to resume their arms, and appointed prince Ferdinand of Brunswick commander in chief. That general, who had already distinguished himself in the Prussian army by his military talents, commenced a vigorous and successful train of operations, and drove the French out of most parts of Hanover.

A. D. 1758. The parliament, resolving to enable his majesty to defend his electoral dominions, granted large supplies for that purpose: six hundred and seventy thousand pounds was voted to the king of Prussia; and other large sums for the sup-

part of about 50,000 of the troops of Hanover, Hesse Cassel, Saxe-Gotha, Wolfenbüttele, and and Buckburg.* The national spirit now seemed to be raised to the highest pitch; and the people appeared willing to sacrifice both their blood and their money to the glory and support of their country. The duke of Marlborough, after insulting the coasts of France, and destroying the shipping and stores in the neighbourhood of St. Maloes, proceeded to Germany, and joined prince Ferdinand with a body of twelve thousand British troops, which was afterwards augmented to twenty-five thousand. General Bligh demolished the harbour and fortifications of Cherbourg. Admiral and general Amherst took and demolished Louisbourg, where they destroyed four French ships of the line and captured a fifth. The English failed in an expedition against Ticonderago; but that miscarriage was amply compensated by the success of colonel Bradstreet and brigadier-general Forbes, the former of whom reduced Frontenac and the latter fort du Quesne, to which he gave the name of Pittsburg in honour of the minister. In Africa, Senegal and Goree were also added to the

* Smollet, 4. p. 229 and 230.

British dominions. The year closed with a new treaty of defence between Great Britain and Prussia, in consequence of which the former subsidies were continued to his Prussian majesty and the other German allies.

A. D. 1759. The following year was distinguished by three grand expeditions:

the first against the French West India islands: the second against the French forts on the lakes of America; and the third against the city of Quebec, the capital of Canada. All these were successful. Guadeloupe, the richest of the sugar islands be-

April 21st,
A. D. 1759. longed to France, surrendered to commodore Moore and general Barrington. The conquest of this important settlement shews that success in war greatly depends on accident, as well as on conduct and valour. The capitulation was scarcely signed, before a squadron, with a strong body of troops, came from Martinique to the relief of Guadeloupe: the arrival of this reinforcement only one hour sooner, would, in all probability, have rendered the conquest of the island impracticable.* On the continent of America, general Amherst made himself master of Ticonderago and Crown Point,

* Smollet, 5. p. 27 and 28.

July 27, and both of which were abandoned by
August 1,
 A. D. 1759. the enemy. In the mean while,
 Sir William Johnson, who had been detached
 by general Amherst, captured the fort of
 Niagara. But all these operations were only
 subordinate to the grand expedition against
 Quebec, of which the command was given to
 general Wolfe, having under him brigadier-
 generals Monckton, Townshend, and Murray:
 the squadron was conducted by admirals
 Saunders and Holmes. The place was de-
 fended by Montcalm, one of the bravest and
 most skilful generals of France. He never
 relaxed for one moment his vigilance; al-
 though the works thrown up to prevent the
 descent of the English, were deemed impreg-
 nable. Indeed, the combination of difficulties
 which attended this undertaking, was such
 as might have baffled the utmost efforts of the
 most courageous and skilful commander. But
 Wolfe, though young in years and experience,
 was a true military genius. Surmounting
 inconceivable difficulties, he disembarked
 his troops, and succeeded in gaining the
Sept. 12,
A. D. 1759. heights of Abraham, where he de-
 feated the French army under
 general Montcalm.* The victory, however,

* The heights of Abraham are an assemblage of high hills, which command Quebec, and are almost inaccessible from the river.—The disembarkation began a little after midnight.

was dearly purchased by the death of general Wolfe, a hero equal to any of those recorded in the history of ancient or modern times. General Montcalm also was mortally wounded, and died in a few days after the action. General Wolfe being slain, and brigadier-general Monckton dangerously wounded, the command devolved on brigadier-general Townshend, who completed the defeat of the French, and the reduction of Quebec, which, within a few days, surrendered to his arms, and has ever since remained an appendage to the British empire.

Sept. 18,
A. D. 1759.

While Great Britain was thus triumphant in the western continent, she displayed her accustomed superiority in the European seas. The French seeing their affairs begin to wear an unfavourable aspect, had, in the beginning of the year, projected an invasion of these islands. But the efforts of the British navy rendered their design impracticable. On the 8th August, admiral Boscawen defeated the Toulon squadron, commanded by M. de la Clue: three of the French ships of the line were captured, and two were burned: the rest of the fleet, consisting of seven ships of the line and three frigates, escaped in the night. Sir Edward Hawke was equally suc-

Nov. 20, cessful against the Brest fleet, which
A. D. 1759. he defeated in the bay of Biscay.
 One French ship of eighty guns was captured: two others of the line were sunk, two were burned, and another wrecked at the mouth of the Loire: seven or eight others throwing their guns overboard, ran up the river Villaine; and the night favoured the escape of the rest of their fleet. The English lost two ships of the line, which ran ashore in the chace.

A. D. 1760. The commencement of the next year was rendered remarkable by the alarm spread along the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland, by the celebrated French adventurer Thurot. This enterprising officer, with only three ships, the largest of which mounted no more than forty-four guns, made himself master of Carrickfergus, in Ireland, where he levied large contributions.* But being met at sea by captain Elliott, who commanded three frigates, Thurot was killed, **Feb. 28th,** and his small squadron captured,
A. D. 1760. after an obstinate action. As the name of Thurot had become terrible to all the maritime ports of Great Britain and Ire-

* Thurot's original armament consisted of five ships, and about 1200 troops; but two of his ships were separated by a storm from the rest of the squadron.

land, his death, and the capture of his vessels, excited as great public rejoicings as could have been produced by the most important victory.

During the two preceding years, the war in Germany had been carried on with great vigour, and with various success. The extraordinary efforts of Frederick the Great against the combined armies of Austria, Russia, and Sweden, would alone furnish matter for many volumes, and cannot be introduced into this compendium of English history.* The allied army, under prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, performed wonders. At the battle of Minden, which was fought on the 31st July, 1759, a few regiments of British infantry repulsed the repeated attacks of the grand army of France, and, almost alone, obtained a most glorious victory. In many other engagements the allies were successful, and the duke of Marlborough, the marquis of Granby, and other commanders of the English troops, acquired immortal renown. All these victories, however, contributed nothing towards the attainment of the ultimate objects of the contest ; and the

* For a succinct but concise account of the wars of Frederick the Great, see the author's *View of the World*, lately published—article Prussia.

French opened every campaign with advantage. Great Britain now began to feel the heavy burdens of a continental war. The total of the supplies granted for this year was above fifteen millions and a half,* of which above two millions three hundred and forty-four thousand were paid in foreign subsidies for supporting the war in that country, exclusive of the transport and maintenance of the English troops under prince Ferdinand; while the national debt amounted to one hundred and eight millions four hundred and ninety-three thousand pounds—a sum which was then thought enormous.† The spirit of the nation was equal to the exigencies of the state: the provisions made by the committee of ways and means, greatly exceeded the supplies granted for the service of the year; and the success of the British arms made the burdens of the people seem light. The last important achievement of the year was the reduction of Montreal by General Amherst, who thus completed the conquest of Canada, and en-

Sept. 7th,
A. D. 1760.

* Smollet, 5. p. 174. Mac Arthur states the public debt at more than £88,341,208. Append. tab. 5. p. 283.—Dr. Rees states it at £110,604,836. Vide Cyclopædia, article debts, vol. 11. part 1.

† Smollet, 5. p. 172. According to a more recent writer, the supplies for 1760 amounted to £19,616,119. Vide Mac Arthur's Financial and Political Facts, appendix, table 4. p. 277 and 278.

tirely subverted the French empire on the continent of North America.

While Great Britain exulted in the triumph of her arms, an event took place which filled the nation with grief, and the German allies with consternation. This was the death of his majesty the king of England, who, without any previous disorder, suddenly expired at his palace of Kensington, in the seventy-eighth year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of a prosperous and glorious reign.

Oct. 25th,
A. D. 1760. George II. was of the middle stature, well shaped, erect, his eyes and nose prominent, and his complexion fair. It redounds greatly to his praise that, although his temper was hasty and violent, it had no effect on his conduct, which was invariably guided by reason. In his mode of living he was temperate and regular; and in all his affairs presented his subjects an example of economy which too few of them were careful to imitate. He was fond of military parade, and possessed great personal courage, in which, indeed, none of his illustrious house have ever been found deficient. His system of government corresponded with the institutions of law: it never encroached on private property, nor interfered with the legal administration of justice. He has been taxed with too great an

attachment to his native country ; but an affection so natural, and which is always esteemed laudable in a subject, ought not to be too severely censured in a monarch ; and Dr. Smollet, who does not appear too favourable to his memory, candidly owns that, if too great attention was paid to the interests of the Germanic body, and if the blood and treasures of Great Britain were sacrificed to these considerations, the king was not so much to be blamed as his ministers, who laboured, with all their might, to promote a system so prejudicial to the true interests of the country.* But that celebrated historian might have considered, that all the measures of George II. were constitutional : they were eagerly seconded by the parliament, and sanctioned by the approbation of the people : both his conduct, and that of his ministers, ought, therefore, to be exempted from the censure of posterity. In fine, he may justly be regarded as one of the best and most prosperous princes that had swayed the British sceptre.

During the reign of George II. Great Britain had made a rapid progress in every species of improvement that embellishes civil society, and at its conclusion had nearly reached the summit of political greatness. The military

* Smollet, 5. p. 368.

force of the nation consisted of thirty-one regiments of cavalry and dragoons, and ninety-seven regiments of infantry, besides sixty thousand Hanoverians and German auxiliaries in the pay of Great Britain. The navy, at the same time, consisted of a hundred and twenty-one ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, sloops, bombs, and tenders.* By this prodigious force the commerce and marine of France were almost annihilated. In India, the sceptre of Great Britain was swayed in regions far beyond the limits to which Alexander extended his conquests; and the greatest part of the North American continent was included within the range of her empire.

The increase of commerce equalled the extension of empire; and the value, both of the imports and exports, had almost doubled during this reign.† This, however, was not

* Smollet's Statement for 1760, vol. 5. p. 367, &c. Since the commencement of the war in 1755, the number of French ships of war taken and destroyed amounted to 84, and their guns to 3436: that of the English taken and destroyed by the French, was only nine ships of war, and 216 guns. Smollet's Statement, 5. p. 329, &c.

| | |
|--|------------|
| | £. |
| + Imports in 1727, the year of the accession of George II. | 6,798,908 |
| Imports in 1760 | 10,683,595 |
| Exports in 1727 | 9,553,043 |
| Exports in 1760 | 16,665,278 |

Vide Mac Arthur's Financial and Political Facts, table 3. append. p. 274, &c.

The French privateers greatly annoyed the British trade. Between June 1st, 1756, and June 1st, 1760, they had taken 2339

the effect of any extraordinary encouragement: on the contrary, the necessities of the state obliged the legislature to burden trade with accumulated imposts. Its increase must, therefore, be ascribed to the natural progress of industry and adventure, stimulated by a constantly accumulating capital.* War, which naturally impedes the commerce of other nations, opened new channels to that of Great Britain; and this augmentation of her trade enabled her to carry on the contest at such an enormous expence.† The influx of money which it occasioned was every where felt, especially in the metropolis, and displayed in works of public as well as private utility and ornament. The suburbs were greatly extended, and adorned with elegant houses; and Westminster Bridge was built at the expence of £389,000. defrayed by parlia-

British ships, including 78 privateers. In the same space of time the British cruisers had captured only 944 of their vessels, including 242 privateers, and many fishing boats, &c. of trifling value. This disparity in the number of captures was the consequence of the depressed state of the French, and the flourishing state of English commerce. Smollet, 5. p. 249.

* Nothing is more self evident than that an increased capital affords the means of increasing trade. A person, who by traffic has accumulated a large capital, possesses one of the most effectual means of extending his business.

† The value of the imports in 1755 was £9,238,276. and in 1760, £10,683,585. Value of exports in 1755, £12,717,832. ditto in 1760, £16,665,278. Vide Mac Arthur, table 3. append. p. 275.

ment. But nothing afforded a greater proof of the flourishing state of trade than the facility with which loans were negotiated for government: the sums of eighteen, nineteen, and even twenty-two millions, raised in the two last years of this and the first of the following reign, by a few merchants of London, at a very short notice, are instances of commercial opulence unprecedented in the history of nations.

The progress of letters and arts kept pace with the increase of commerce and the influx of wealth. Astronomy, and other branches of the mathematics, were illustrated by Halley, Sanderson, Maclaurin, Simpson, and others. Chemistry received various improvements. Architecture became a favourite study, and magnificent edifices were erected in various parts of the kingdom. Sculpture was also successfully cultivated; and British genius, which had in the article of painting been long deemed a barren soil, produced several artists of distinguished merit. Among these may be mentioned the well known names of Hogarth, Hayman, Wootton, Seymour, Lambert, the Smiths, Scot, Ramsey, and Sir Joshua Reynolds. Little progress was yet made in historical painting; but the art of engraving was brought to con-

siderable perfection by Strange, Grignion, and other artists. Music was also greatly encouraged, though cultivated chiefly by foreigners. Some Englishmen, however, distinguished themselves by their musical talents. Several public institutions evinced the improving taste of the nation: the British Museum was established in Montague house; and the Antiquarian Society, as well as the Marine Society, and the Society of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, date their establishment from this reign.

Erudition and genius were eminently displayed in a number of literary performances; and the English writers began to be distinguished by elegance of diction, as well as by strength of argument and philosophical investigation. Many ingenious treatises, in metaphysics and morality, made their appearance. Theology could boast of a Sherlock, a Hoadley, a Warburton, and a Watts. The medical art was developed in the essays of London and Edinburgh, in the works of the classical Friend, the elegant Mead, and other philosophical physicians. In the Belles Lettres, genius spontaneously arose, and, without the patronage of any distinguished Mæcænas, flourished under the auspices of a generous public, disposed to encourage lite-

rary merit. Chesterfield, Richardson, and others, acquired celebrity by the elegance of their prose writings; and Britain, at this period, was fertile in poetry. Among those who distinguished themselves by their poetical writings may be mentioned Akenside, Armstrong, Mason, Gray, the Whiteheads, the Whartons, &c. Young, author of the *Night Thoughts*, and Watts, already mentioned, enlisted the muses into the service of religion. Thomson, the poet of the *Seasons*, displayed a luxuriancy of genius in painting the beauties of nature, and, as long as the English language shall be read, his works will be perused with delight. But, above all the rest, the name of Pope stands eminently conspicuous: his smoothly flowing diction and harmonious versification will immortalize his memory as the prince of the English poets. Perhaps few of the dramatic writings of this period will stand high in the estimation of posterity. But the stage could boast of many excellent actors; and the art of theatrical exhibition was carried to the acme of perfection by the celebrated Garrick, who, in that respect, greatly surpassed all his predecessors of this, and perhaps, every other nation.

The improvement of the human mind,

however conspicuous in a great number of individuals, was not sufficiently general to have any great influence on popular manners. That luxury in dress, in equipages, in furniture, &c. should increase with the influx of wealth, is a natural effect. Luxury, indeed, when properly regulated, is the basis of commerce and the stimulus of industry. But, among those classes of people whose minds are uncultivated, luxury, instead of being refined into elegance, sinks into brutal sensuality. About the middle of this reign, immorality, among the lower orders, had arrived almost at its highest pitch. To produce this lamentable effect, the low price of that baleful compound, called gin, had a powerful tendency; and the populace of London lived in an almost continual intoxication, to the utter ruin of industry and all moral decency.* The legislature, however, by judicious regulations respecting distilleries, taxes on spirituous liquors, and licences to publicans, put a check to the growing evil, and

* Dr. Smollet says, that, at many houses in London, boards were set up to give public notice, that a person might get drunk for a penny, dead drunk for two pence, and be furnished with straw for nothing; and that in those infamous places of rendezvous, cellars were provided, and littered with straw, into which numbers of intoxicated wretches were dragged, and left crowded together in a state of insensibility, till sleep enabled them to renew the scenes of riot and debauchery.

produced a great amelioration of the national morals before the end of the reign.

GEORGE III.

SUCH, as it has just been described, was the state of the British empire in arms and in arts, in finances and commerce, when George III. ascended the throne. The nation, triumphant abroad, and united at home, had attained to the highest pitch of military glory, and to an extraordinary degree of political prosperity; and the monarch possessed all the qualifications that nature, education, and fortune could bestow, in order to render his reign illustrious. He was then in the bloom of youth, in the twenty-third year of his age,* and the offspring of a parent who had been the delight of the people. Having no interest distinct from that of his subjects, he possessed their

* George III. was born 4th June, 1738, was proclaimed king 26th October, 1760, married the princess Charlotte of Mecklenburgh Strelitz, September 8th, 1761, and was crowned September 22d, 1761.

united affections; and his personal character was calculated to raise their most sanguine expectations. The reign of this monarch, comprising a period distinguished by revolutions of the greatest importance, and wholly unprecedented, would require many volumes to particularize all the transactions that will render it peculiarly interesting to posterity. These, indeed, have already employed many able pens, and will undoubtedly employ many more.* The vast machine of European politics, during this reign, has been the subject of incessant investigation; and the events arising from its complicated movements, have been minutely and repeatedly detailed in numerous publications. All, therefore, that is necessary, and, indeed, all that can be attempted in this historical compendium, is to exhibit the outlines of the picture: these will escape the wreck of time when the colouring shall fade, and become uninteresting to posterity.†

The sudden death of George II. at so critical a juncture, filled his German allies with

* Besides general histories of England, &c. see histories of the reign of George III. by Belsham, Macfarlan, and Bisset, various histories of the French revolution, and a number of other works, published both in England and France.

† For a more circumstantial account of the most important part of this reign, see the author's General History of Europe from the peace of 1763 to the month of May, 1810, published in 2 vols. 8vo. by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, London, 1810.

consternation. They saw themselves deprived of their sole support at a time when they found themselves unable to resist the preponderating force of their enemies, and they were ignorant of the intentions of his successor. The conduct of George III. however, soon dispelled their alarms. Convinced of the expediency of a vigorous prosecution of the war as the best means of obtaining peace, he resolved that the death of his predecessor should not relax the operations of the national arms. The whole force of the empire was exerted with vigour, and its efforts were successful. Pondicherry, the chief settlement of the French in India, and defended by Lally,* one of their bravest generals, was, after suffering all the rigours of famine, compelled to surrender to colonel Coote, assisted Jan. 16th, A. D. 1761. by the co-operation of admiral Stevens. The same year the island of Belleisle, near the coast of France, was reduced by general Hodgson and commodore Keppel.

Before the end of the year his majesty espoused the princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg Strelitz, whose virtuous and amiable conduct has amply justified his choice; and

* General Lally was a native of Ireland, and a soldier of fortune. The batteries were opened against Pondicherry Dec. 8th, 1760, about midnight.

soon after her arrival, the ceremony of the
Sept. 22d,
A. D. 1761. coronation was performed with
 great magnificence in Westminster
 Abbey.

In the mean while, Mr. Pitt, who had so ably conducted the war against France, having received authentic information of the hostile intentions of Spain, proposed an immediate declaration of war against that kingdom. His advice, however, was overruled in the council; all the members of which, excepting his brother-in-law, earl Temple, were of a contrary opinion. Mr. Pitt, now finding his influence on the decline, resigned his office, and received a pension of three thousand pounds per ann. to be continued for three lives, and a title was conferred on his lady and her issue.

The resignation of Mr. Pitt produced no alteration in public measures: the plans which he had previously concerted, were vigorously executed, and the whole political machine was kept in motion by the impulse which he had given to all its parts. The accuracy of his intelligence, and the justness of his views, soon became manifest: the famous family compact between the two great branches of the house of Bourbon, rendered a rupture with Spain unavoidable,

Jan. 4th, and war was accordingly declared
A. D. 1762. against that kingdom.

Great Britain had now to contend with the unbroken force of a new enemy ; but increased opposition served only to stimulate her activity, and multiply her triumphs. The Havannah, the strongest and most important place which Spain possessed in the West Indies, was, after a siege of two months and eight days, compelled to surrender to a British armament, commanded by admiral Pococke, and the earl of Albemarle. While Great Britain was triumphant in every quarter of the globe, she had still further cause of exultation in the birth of an heir to the throne.

Aug. 19th, George Frederick Augustus, prince
A. D. 1762. of Wales, came into the world in a moment of national triumph. The *Hermione*, a large Spanish register ship, homeward bound from Lima to Cadiz, had been captured by the English cruizers. The cargo, consisting of silver, &c. was valued at a million sterling ; and, by a singular coincidence, this treasure was triumphantly carried through the city to the Bank at the very hour in which his royal highness was born. In the East, as well as the West Indies, the Spanish possessions were attacked with success ; the rich and important city of Manilla was reduced by admiral

Cornish and general Draper ; and the enemy was convinced, that the most distant parts of the globe were not secure from the British arms.* But the misfortunes of Spain did not alleviate those of France. Gen. Monckton, lord Rollo, and Sir James Douglas, continued a successful train of operations against the French West India islands. Martinique, although deemed impregnable, was compelled to submit to the arms of Great Britain ; and this important conquest being followed by the reduction of Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and other islands of inferior note, the French had every reason to apprehend their total expulsion from the West Indies.

In order to counteract these misfortunes, which had attended the family compact, the house of Bourbon employed its last resource. This was the invasion of Portugal—a kingdom which commercial connexions, and political alliance, had placed under the peculiar protection of Great Britain. This expedient had the desired effect, as it certainly embarrassed the British government, which found it necessary to send considerable armaments to Portugal. In Germany the war was still continued with vigour. Prince Ferdinand

* Manilla is a rich and commercial city. It has long been famous for the trade which it carries on between China and Mexico.

displayed, on every occasion, the talents of a consummate general ; and the courage of the marquis of Granby rendered him the idol of the British soldiery, and the glory of the nation. The king of Prussia, at the same time, by his consummate courage and military skill, resisted all the efforts of Austria, Russia, and Sweden, and excited the astonishment of all Europe. All these operations, however, these marches and countermarches of contending armies, the bloody battles and destructive sieges, of which a circumstantial detail would fill numerous volumes, as they produced no decisive effects, are, at this time, of little importance in history. It suffices to say, that the British government judiciously resolved to put an end to a bloody and ruinous war, in which victory produced no permanent advantage. The defection of Russia from the confederacy formed against Prussia, facilitated the restoration of peace on the continent.* The house of Bourbon, at the same time, made such proposals as the British ministry deemed admissible. A

Feb. 10th, treaty of peace was concluded be-
A D. 1763. tween his Britannic majesty and

* Peter III. ascended the throne of Russia on the death of the Czarina Elizabeth, Jan. 5th, 1762, and immediately concluded a peace with the king of Prussia.

the kings of France and Spain, to which the king of Portugal acceded. Canada, with the islands of Newfoundland, Cape Breton, and St. John, with East and West Florida, comprising the whole of the continent of North America to the eastward of the Mississippi, were ceded to Great Britain. In the West Indies, the islands of Grenada and the Grenadillas were confirmed to Great Britain: Martinique, Guadaloupe, Marigalante, and Deseada, were restored to France, and Cuba to Spain. The English quitted their pretensions to the neutral island of St. Lucia, and granted to the French the small islands of St. Peter and Miquelon, on the coasts of Newfoundland.* The French renounced their pretensions to the neutral islands of St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago. In Africa, England retained the island of Senegal, and restored Goree to France.† In the East Indies, all the places taken from the French were restored, on condition that they should not maintain either forts or forces in the province of Bengal. The city of Manilla, with

* These islands, and even Newfoundland itself, are of no other value than for the conveniences which they afford during the fishing season.

† The island of Senegal is of far more value than Goree, as it gave to the English nearly the whole monopoly of the gum trade in that country.

its appendages, was restored to the Spaniards, who, in return, confirmed to the English the right to cut logwood in the bay of Honduras, on the coast of Mexico. In Germany, after an immense effusion of blood, and expenditure of money, and after innumerable scenes of carnage, rapine, and devastation, the peace was concluded on the principle of mutual restitution. The same principle was also admitted in the treaty between Spain and Portugal. Thus ended a war the most glorious in the British annals—a war in which the nation had attained the summit of political greatness, and a degree of commercial opulence unknown in former ages.

From this period the British empire enjoyed several years of unprecedented prosperity. Some domestic troubles arose, but these were not of such a nature as to affect the happiness of the nation. John Wilkes, esq. member of parliament for Aylesbury, was rendered conspicuous by two papers which he had written: one was entitled the “North Briton, No. 45;” and the other an “Essay on Woman.” By virtue of a warrant from the secretary of state, three messengers entered his house, and seized his person. Being carried before the secretaries for examination, he was committed to the Tower; but afterwards liberated by a

writ of *habeas corpus*. Mr. Wilkes complained, that the privileges of parliament had been violated by the seizure of his papers, and the imprisonment of his person. Both houses, however, concurred in voting the "North Briton, No. 45," a false, scandalous, and seditious libel, and ordered it to be burned by the hangman. The order was executed, but not without great opposition by the populace. And another prosecution was commenced against him for his "Essay on Woman," which was deemed scandalous and profane. Mr. Wilkes then withdrew to the continent; and being expelled the House of Commons, was afterward outlawed.

While the minds of the people were agitated by these trifling disputes, events of infinitely greater importance were in embryo. The conquest of Canada, and the total expulsion of the French from the North American continent, seemed to have completely secured the British empire in that part of the globe; but the consequences of these triumphs shew the fallacy of promising appearances, and the uncertainty of political views. So long as France retained possession of Canada, the American colonies, overawed by the presence of that formidable neighbour, steadily adhered to Great Britain, from whom they expected

and had always received protection. But no sooner were they delivered from their apprehensions of the French, than they began to form more aspiring views, and to consider themselves as capable of asserting their own independence. The situation of affairs between the parent state and the colonies, gave rise to a question, the decision of which being referred to the sword, produced a series of calamities, and finally rent the British empire asunder. Great Britain had, during the late war, been at an enormous expence in protecting the colonies, and it was just that they should contribute towards her reimbursements.* The sums which they had been accustomed to raise for the public service, used to be determined in the provincial assemblies; but this system was found by experience to be attended with delay, and want of unanimity. From these circumstances the British parliament judged it expedient to exercise the same jurisdiction over the colonies as over the rest of the empire, especially in regard to taxation. But the colonists refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of an assembly to which they sent no

* The Americans, and the minority in the British parliament, asserted that America had contributed more than her just proportion of expences in the late war. *Marshal's Life of Washington*, 2. p. 109.

representatives. The British parliament, however, insisting on the right, passed an act for

March 22,
A. D. 1765. levying a duty on stamps in the North American colonies. This was no sooner known in America than the whole country was in a ferment. The act was treated with the utmost contempt and indignation: several violent measures were adopted to prevent its operation; and associations were formed in the different provinces, by which the people bound themselves not to import or purchase any British manufactures till that act should be repealed. The colonies also established committees, and from these committees appointed deputies to meet in congress at New York. They assembled together in the month of October, 1765, and this was the first congress that was held in North America.

These commotions in America excited great alarm in England, and his Majesty thought proper to dismiss his ministers. The marquis of Rockingham was appointed first lord of the treasury in the room of Mr. George Grenville; and some of his lordship's friends succeeded to the vacant places. The

March 16,
A. D. 1766. American stamp act was repealed, a measure in which the new ministry concurred. The integrity and the disinterested patriotism of the marquis of Rockingham

were productive of several measures tending to the benefit of the public, and have consecrated his name to posterity. But his administration was only of short continuance.

July 31,
A. D. 1766.

The duke of Grafton was appointed first lord of the treasury, in the room of the marquis, the earl of Shelburne, secretary of state, in the room of the duke of Richmond; Charles Townshend, chancellor of the exchequer, and Mr. Pitt, soon after created earl of Chatham, was made lord privy seal. This arrangement, however, was not of any long duration; and various changes soon took place. Mr. Charles Townshend, who possessed great abilities and eloquence, made a considerable figure both in the cabinet and in the parliament; but was snatched from the political theatre by death. The office of chancellor of the exchequer was then conferred on lord North, who afterwards became first lord of the treasury, and obtained considerable ascendancy in the direction of public affairs.*

* In the year 1768, Mr. Wilkes returned from France, where he had resided sometime. But being again elected member for Middlesex, he was a second time expelled the house, and suffered a long imprisonment in consequence of the verdicts given against him. In 1771, the term of his imprisonment being expired, he was repeatedly elected by the freeholders of Middlesex; but his election was annulled by the house. At length he was permitted to take his seat without opposition. In consequence of this affair, general warrants were declared illegal; and thus was decided a question of no small importance in the laws of a free country,

After the repeal of the stamp act, tranquillity was restored in America; and every thing promised a continuance of the union subsisting between the parent state and the colonies. But a new attempt of the British parliament to tax the Americans, notwithstanding the ill success of the stamp act, rekindled the flame which had so happily subsided. Governor Pownal, who was well acquainted with the disposition of the colonists, warned the house of the danger of driving them to extremities. "It is," said he, "a fact which this house ought to be apprized of in all its extent, that the people of America, universally, unitedly, and unalterably, are resolved not to submit to any internal tax, imposed upon them by any legislature, in which they have not a share by representatives of their own election." He further added—"This claim must not be understood as if it were only the pretences of party leaders and demagogues—as if it were only the visions of speculative enthusiasts—as if it were the mere ebullition of a faction which must subside—as if it were only temporary and partial:—it is the cool deliberate principled maxim of every man of business in the country." The event verified the accuracy of these observations, which, had

they met with sufficient attention, might have prevented an ocean of calamities. But, unfortunately, the science of politics is in many cases no more than conjecture: the errors of statesmen may, therefore, admit of many excuses, as the merit of political speculations can be verified only by experiment, of which the result is often widely different from expectation.

Notwithstanding the representations of governor Pownall, an act was passed the same year, for laying certain duties on
A. D. 1767. paper, glass, tea, &c. imported into the American colonies.* About two years after, however, all these duties were repealed, except that on tea; but, as it was not the amount of the imposts, but the right of the parliament of Great Britain to levy money on America that was the subject of dispute, the repeal of some of the taxes could answer no purpose so long as any other remained.†

A. D. 1773. The dispute between the parent country and the colonies still subsisting, the measures that were taken brought matters at length to a crisis. Three ships;

* In consequence of this act the Americans resolved, in the following year, not to import any British goods except those that were of the greatest necessity. Marsh, *Life of Washington*, 2. p. 162, &c.

† Marsh, *Life of Washington*, 2. p. 172.

laden with tea, being sent to Boston in the month of December, the Americans resolved to hinder it from being landed, as the surest means of preventing its consumption.* A number of men, disguised like Mohawk Indians, boarded these ships, and, in a few hours, discharged their cargoes of tea into the sea, without doing any other damage, or offering any injury to the captains or crews. Outrages of the same nature took place, on similar occasions, in several other ports; and the masters of many of the tea ships, in order to avoid the like danger, took the prudent resolution of returning immediately to England with their cargoes.

In consequence of these violent proceedings, March 31st, an act was passed in England for
A. D. 1774. shutting up the port of Boston, and another, soon after, for regulating the government of Massachusetts's bay. These measures so exasperated the Americans, that provincial meetings were every where held, and the different colonies entered into an agreement, by which they solemnly bound themselves to suspend all intercourse with Great Britain. They also appointed deputies to attend at a

* For a detailed account of the beginning of these disputes see Gordon's Hist. of the American war. Vol. 1. p. 300, &c.

general congress, which was opened at Philadelphia on the 5th of September, and consisted of fifty-two members, who drew up a petition to the king, and addresses to the people of Great Britain and Canada.

Some measures were now proposed in the British parliament for putting a stop to the ferment which pervaded the colonies. The great earl of Chatham, who had been long in an infirm state of health, came to the House of Lords, and expressed, in the strongest terms, his disapprobation of the system pursued in regard to America.* He also made a motion for recalling the troops from Boston, as a measure which ought to be instantly adopted, and insisted that an hour of delay in conciliating the colonies might produce years of calamity. Fatal experience verified the observation. The motion was rejected by a majority of sixty-eight against eighteen; and the methods proposed in the House of Commons for promoting an accommodation met with a similar fate. A motion, indeed, was afterwards made by lord North, for suspending the exercise of the right of taxation in America, claimed by the British parliament in all the colonies, that should, in their general

* Vide Becham's life of Chatham.

assemblies, raise such contributions as should be approved by his majesty in parliament. This motion was carried ; but, on being communicated to some of the provincial assemblies, it was by them rejected as delusive and unsatisfactory, and calculated only to promote disunion in the colonies.* The petition from the congress was ordered, by his majesty, to be laid before parliament ; and Dr. Franklin, with two other agents, solicited to be heard at the bar of the House of Commons in behalf of the colonies ; but the application was rejected, it being alleged that the American congress was an illegal assembly.

Such was the gradual progress of the dispute between Great Britain and her American colonies during the long space of ten years, which elapsed between the passing of the stamp act in 1765, and the commencement of those direful hostilities which terminated in the final separation of the two great branches of the empire. But to form a just view of the affair, it is requisite to observe, that the perpetual dependence of colonies on the parent state is inconsistent with the nature of things, and contrary to all the experience transmitted by history. All nations

* Ramsey, 1. p. 163—and Gordon, 2. p. 90, &c.

were originally colonies one from another ;* and had they not aspired to independence, the world would have formed only one political community. It cannot, therefore, be expected that colonies, when grown sufficiently powerful, will remain long in a state of dependence ; and when we consider the vast extent and increasing population and opulence of Anglo-America, it may be justly concluded, that the stamp act, the tax upon tea, and all the other proceedings of the British parliament, were no more than the accelerating causes of an event which must have taken place at one time or other, and probably at no very distant period.† It was, indeed, an unfortunate circumstance, that an event, which was certain, should have occasioned so ruinous a contest, and such bloody convulsions ; but it is not in the nature of human affairs that such a revolution should be accomplished without a violent and sanguinary struggle.

After developing the nature and causes of a war which dismembered the British empire,

* The Carthaginians were a colony of Phœnicians. Most of the Greek states, at least the ruling part of them, were colonies from Egypt. The deduction might be carried through the history of all nations, all of them being colonies from the original stock on the banks of the Euphrates.

† This must one day be the case with the Spanish and Portuguese colonies : both of these have, at different times, discovered a spirit of

it suffices briefly to mention the principal transactions which led to such a result, without entering into a minute detail of naval and military operations, consisting only of a repetition of scenes divested of novelty, and almost of interest, by the frequency of historical description. Hostilities were commenced in New England, where general Gage dispatched a body of troops to destroy some

April 19th,
A. D. 1775. military stores collected at Concord. They succeeded in their design ;

but were forced to make a precipitate retreat, with the loss of sixty-five killed, one hundred and seventy wounded, and twenty made prisoners.* Numerous bodies of the American militia immediately invested the town of Boston, where they kept general Gage and his troops closely blockaded. All the colonies prepared for war ; and the new continental

May 10th,
A. D. 1775. congress being assembled at Philadelphia, adopted the most vigorous measures for opposing the British government.† Among their first acts were resolu-

independence : witness the proceedings of general Miranda, and the transactions at Buenos Ayres, and in New Grenada. If Spain and Portugal should ever be conquered by France, this would accelerate the independence of their colonies. For the disposition of the Brazilians, see Staunton's China.

* The Americans lost between sixty and seventy in killed and wounded. Marshall differs a little from this statement. 2. p. 256.

† Marshall's Life of Washington, vol. 2. p. 261.

upwards of seven thousand men, was obliged to evacuate Boston and embark for Halifax, leaving behind a considerable quantity of artillery and stores; and general Washington

March 17th,
A. D. 1776.

immediately took possession of the town.* Within four months after

July 4th,
A. D. 1776.

this event, the congress formally declared the colonies independent, under the title of the "United States of America."†

About the same time, commodore Parker and general Clinton made an attempt on Charlestown, in South Carolina, but were repulsed with considerable loss. General Howe being reinforced by a considerable number of Highlanders, and a large body of Hessians taken into British pay, now saw himself at the head of a formidable army. The fleet was commanded by his brother, vice-admiral lord Howe. Both the general and the admiral were invested with the power of granting pardon to those who should lay down their arms; but the Americans rejected all offers of the kind with contempt.‡ The British commanders, resolving to make an

* Marshall, 2. p. 368.

† See the reasons alleged for this measure, and the preparations of the public for its adoption, in Marshall, 2. p. 467, &c.

‡ Id. 2. p. 491.

attempt on New York, landed their forces on Long Island, where the Americans had thrown up some works, and posted a large body of troops. Several days were employed in skirmishes, in which the British troops being greatly superior to their enemies in skill and discipline, and better provided with artillery and every other article of military equipment, were invariably successful. In these actions the Americans suffered extremely, and found it necessary to abandon their position. General Washington conducted their retreat in the night with consummate ability. The baggage, stores, and the greatest part of the artillery, were conveyed to the water side, embarked, and conveyed over the East river to New York, with such secrecy, order, and dispatch, that the British army had not perceived the least movement, and were surprised in the morning on seeing the last of their rear guard in their boats, and out of danger. From the morning of the 27th, till the troops were completely extricated from their perilous situation on the 29th, the fatigues and exertions of the American general, who inspected every thing in person, had been incessant. During all that time he never closed his eyes, and was almost continually on horseback.*

* Marshall's Life of Washington, vol. 2. p. 519.

New York was soon after abandoned, and the royal army gained several other advantages, which obliged Washington to retreat through the Jerseys to the river Delaware, a distance of ninety miles. General Clinton and Sir Peter Parker obtained possession of Rhode island, and, about the same time, the British troops recovered the Jerseys. The Americans were now reduced to a situation extremely critical. Most of their strongest forts were taken, the term for which the greatest part of their army had been enlisted was about to expire, and the rest of their troops, who had not fulfilled the time of their service, were in the most deplorable state, badly armed, and worse clothed, almost without tents, blankets, or utensils for dressing their provisions.* The whole number with general Washington did not at the commencement of his retreat through the Jerseys exceed four thousand, and they were soon reduced by continual hardships to less than three thousand. The annals of war scarcely exhibit a situation more distressing than that of this small American band, dispirited by their losses and fatigues, retreating almost naked and barefooted in the piercing cold

* For a striking picture of the distresses of the American army, and the difficult situation of the commander in chief, see Marshall's *Life of Washington*, 2. p. 552, 599, 627, and 3. p. 369, &c. 374, &c.

of November and December, before a numerous, well appointed, and victorious army. Among the distinguishing traits of general Washington's character, may be reckoned that unyielding firmness of mind, which resisted these accumulated circumstances of depression. Undismayed by surrounding dangers, he did not for a moment relax in his exertions; but struggled against adverse fortune, without ever appearing to despair of the final success of the contest. To his unconquerable firmness and perfect self-possession, under the most desperate circumstances, America, in a great measure, owes her independence. At the very time when his affairs seemed desperate, he crossed the Delaware,* in the night, amidst a tremendous storm of snow, hail, and rain, which fell in prodigious quantities, and, advancing to Trenton, surprised a body of Hessians, of whom he took about a thousand prisoners, with six pieces of artillery, and a thousand stand of arms.† Having then recrossed the Delaware, he found himself in a critical situa-

* The river was so impeded with ice, that the Americans did not get all their troops over till three o'clock in the morning. Marshall, 2. p. 616.

† The Americans lost only two men killed, two frozen to death, and one officer and three or four privates made prisoners. Marshall, 2. p. 618.

tion. The British troops were collecting in full force to the attack, and only waited for the morning. But Washington, by a masterly stroke of generalship, defeated the plan. In order to conceal his retreat in the night, he caused a line of fires to be lighted up in the front of his camp, as an indication of going to rest. He then moved securely off the ground with his artillery and baggage, and, by a circuitous march of eighteen miles, reached Princetown in the morning, and carried the British post at that place.*

During these transactions the Americans began to make some exertions by sea as well as by land. The system of non-importation, which preceded the war, had caused throughout the country a great scarcity of manufactured goods, which was afterwards severely felt, especially in the difficulty of procuring arms, ammunition, and clothing for the troops.† The Americans, however, by fitting out numerous privateers, and other small vessels, found means to remedy, in a considerable degree, by the multitude of their cap-

* Marshall, 2. p. 626.

† The non-importation agreements had left America so destitute of European goods, that when congress proceeded to raise an army, the whole country scarcely afforded the clothes and blankets necessary for its use. Marshall's life of Washington, 3. p. 34.

tures, this inconvenience, which had pressed so heavily on all classes of people, but most of all on the army.* Another evil of tremendous magnitude was also removed by the care of general Washington. Inoculation for the small-pox had hitherto been little known and seldom practised in the western world, and almost from the first commencement of the war that disease had made dreadful ravages among the American troops. As the short period of inlistment had caused the army to be now renewed, the only means of preventing the recurrence of a similar calamity was a general inoculation. This the American commander caused to be every where performed with so great caution and secrecy, that the British derived no advantage from the circumstance; and the example of the military being generally followed through the country, this alarming disease ceased to be the terror of America.†

These precautions being taken, and the term of inlistment prolonged to three years or the duration of the war, the American force began to assume a somewhat more regular

* The prizes made by the American cruisers, in the year 1776, are said, by some English writers, to have been estimated at a million sterling. In America their amount is believed to have been much greater. Marshall, 3. p. 34, &c.

† Marshall's life of Washington, 3. p. 72.

and permanent aspect. The greatest part of the summer was spent in marches, counter-marches, and skirmishes, in which the British and American generals displayed equal abilities. After several partial actions, in which the former obtained some advantages, all the manœuvres of Washington could not prevent general Howe from taking possession of Philadelphia. But an expedition ^{Sept. 26th,} _{A. D. 1777.} which had been planned for invading the northern colonies, by the way of Canada, proved extremely disastrous. The command was given to lieut.-general Burgoyne, a brave and experienced officer, who marched from Quebec with an army of near ten thousand men and a fine train of artillery, and was afterwards joined by a considerable body of Indians.* He made himself master of Ticonderago, and for some time every thing promised him complete success. At length, however, he met with difficulties which no degree of courage or military skill could surmount. A series of incessant and extraordinary efforts having greatly reduced the number of his forces, he was nearly surrounded by the American generals Gates and

* The system of employing Indians in this war was strongly reprobated by the earl of Chatham. See his speech as given by Belsham.

Arnold, with an army greatly superior in force. General Burgoyne made every possible effort to extricate himself from this perilous situation, but after two severe actions, in which great numbers fell, he and his whole

Oct. 17th, army were obliged to lay down their
A. D. 1777. arms.* About the same time Sir Henry Clinton and general Vaughan made a successful expedition up the north river, and captured several forts. But although the Americans suffered considerable damage, the British derived little advantage from this expedition. The Americans complained that the British troops reduced their villages to ashes, a wanton and useless destruction, which served only to irritate without tending to subdue. A judicious writer, speaking of this subject, observes, that it excited an aversion to the British which, perhaps, outlived the contest between the two nations.†

A. D. 1778. Soon after these transactions, general Howe, who had conducted the war with great prudence and skill, resigned

* The number of effective men that surrendered is stated by general Burgoyne at 3500, and by the American accounts at 5752; the English also lost a fine train of artillery, 7000 stand of arms, and clothing for 7000 recruits intended to be raised in the country, with other military stores. Marshall 3. p. 313.

† Marshall, 3. p. 311. The Americans as well as their enemies employed Indians in this war; but Marshall asserts that the practice originated with the British, 3. p. 17 and 20.

his command, and was succeeded by general Sir Henry Clinton. From the time that general Howe took possession of Philadelphia, Washington had, by a judicious distribution of his forces, kept the British army almost blockaded in that city, and endeavoured, by every means, to prevent its receiving any supplies of provision from the country. At length it was deemed necessary to evacuate Philadelphia, and accordingly general Clinton retreated from thence to New York.* During its march the British army was harassed by the Americans, but suffered only an inconsiderable loss.

June 17th,
A. D. 1778.

The Americans had, for some time, solicited succours from France. The French court was then divided into two parties: the count de Vergennes and M. Turgot declared in favour of neutrality;† but there existed an opposite party to whose political system subsequent events gave the ascendancy. Its avowed object was to seize the present moment to revenge past injuries, and to dismember the vast empire of Great Britain.

* The evacuation of Philadelphia was rendered necessary by the certainty of an approaching war with France. A French armament, under the count d'Estaing, had already sailed in order to attack the British army in Philadelphia. Marshall, 3. p. 490.

† See Reflections of M. Turgot on the memorial presented by the count de Vergennes, April 1776.

For some time, however, the war faction at Paris judged it expedient not to precipitate hostilities, but to give clandestine support to the colonies. The Americans, therefore, received considerable supplies of arms, ammunition, and all kinds of military stores from France; and some French officers, apparently against the consent, but with the secret approbation of the court, entered into the American service. This hesitation of the court of Versailles to engage in a war with Great Britain, was owing, in no small degree, to the doubtful aspect of the contest, and the ill success which, in the campaign of 1776, had attended the American arms. But the capture of the British army at Saratoga had materially changed the face of affairs, and fixed the wavering politics of the court of Versailles. And after a long train of negotiation and intrigue, a treaty of alliance was concluded at Paris between his most christian majesty and the thirteen united states of America. The essential and direct end of this treaty was to maintain the independence of the united colonies, as well in matters of government as of commerce. The whole British nation was now alarmed at the fatal tendency of the American war, and earnestly desired a recon-

Feb. 6th,
A. D. 1778.

ciliation. The earl of Carlisle, Wm. Eden, and George Johnstone, esqrs. were appointed commissioners from his majesty to settle the disputes between the parent state and the colonies. But it was now too late. On the arrival of the commissioners at Philadelphia, proposals were made for an accommodation ; but the congress positively refused to enter into any negotiation, unless the independence of the colonies were previously acknowledged, or the British fleets and armies withdrawn from America ; and terms which, at an earlier period of the contest, would have been accepted with gratitude, were now rejected with disdain.

In the mean while, the conduct of the court of Versailles in espousing the cause of the colonies, occasioned the commencement of hostilities between Great Britain and France.

July 27th, A. D. 1778. An engagement took place off Brest between the British fleet, commanded by admiral Keppel, and that of France, under the count d'Orvilliers: the former consisted of thirty ships of the line, the latter of thirty-two, besides frigates. But the action was indecisive, not a ship being taken on either side. This result excited great murmurs in the English fleet, and gave rise to some altercation between admiral Keppel, and Sir Hugh

Palliser, vice-admiral of the blue. Both the commanders were brought to trial; but, after a full investigation of their conduct, both were acquitted. In the East Indies, Pondicherry was obliged to surrender Oct. 17th, A.D. 1778. to the arms of Great Britain. But, in the West Indies, the war began with nearly equal success on both sides. The English made themselves masters of the island of St. Lucia; but that of Dominica was captured by the French. And, in the following year, the French obtained possession of the islands of St. Vincent and Grenada.

On the commencement of hostilities between Great Britain and France, the count d'Estaing, with an armament consisting of twelve ships of the line and six frigates, having on board a strong body of land forces, had sailed from Toulon for America. His destination was the Delaware; and sanguine hopes had been entertained by the court of Versailles that he would find the British in that river, and the army in Philadelphia. But, a very uncommon continuance of adverse winds, protracted his voyage across the Atlantic to the length of eighty-seven days. This unusual, and to the English fortunate circumstance, saved both their fleet and their

army. A passage of seventy-five days would have brought D'Estaing to the Delaware, while admiral Howe was yet in that river; and such was the superiority of the French force, that the British fleet must have been captured or destroyed, an event which would have been certainly and quickly succeeded by the destruction of the army. On his arrival at the Capes of the Delaware, the French admiral, finding his views disconcerted, meditated an attack on the British fleet at New York, but afterwards relinquished the project as hazardous. He therefore sailed to Rhode island, where he prepared to attack the English fleet as soon as it appeared off the coast. Both fleets, however, being dispersed by a storm, D'Estaing returned to Newport, and afterward sailed to Boston, in order to refit. The departure of the French fleet obliged the American general Sullivan to raise the siege of Newport, which had been commenced with the most sanguine hopes of success. At length, after numerous disappointments, D'Estaing arrived at the river September, A. D. 1779. Savannah, in Georgia, where he landed his troops. The French and Americans made a desperate attack on the British troops at Savannah, under major-

general Prescott; but were repulsed with great loss.* After this transaction, D'Estaing abandoned the coast of America, and sailed to the West Indies, where the islands of St. Vincent and Grenada were taken possession of by the French. The loss, however, which the English sustained by the capture of those islands, was, in some measure, compensated by the success of Sir Hyde Parker, who took several French ships of war and merchantmen in the West Indian seas.

Through the intrigues of the court of Versailles, Spain was at length brought to engage in the war against England. The naval force of Spain united with that of France, now became extremely formidable, and their combined fleets appeared for some time to ride triumphant in the British channel. So large, indeed, were their armaments, that England was under no small apprehension of an invasion; but they made no attempt of the kind, and, after parading some time in the channel, they returned to their ports. It was not long, however, before Great Britain asserted her
Jan. 8th,
A. D. 1780. naval superiority. Sir Geo. Bridges Rodney fell in with and captured

* The loss of the French 700 men: of the Americans 239: that of the English only 55—a disparity owing to the cover afforded by their works. Marshall, 4. p. 151, &c.

seven Spanish ships of war, with a number of trading vessels under their convoy. One of the first enterprises in which the Spaniards engaged was the siege of Gibraltar, which was carried on with great vigour, and the garrison was greatly distressed for want of provisions. Admiral Rodney contributed, in no small degree, to the preservation of that important place. He engaged, near Cape St. Vincent, the Spanish fleet, consisting of eleven sail of the line and two frigates, under Don Juan de Langara, whom he totally defeated. Four of the largest Spanish ships were taken: one was blown up in the action, and two were driven ashore, one of which was recovered by the English. After this signal victory, the British admiral threw supplies into Gibraltar, and afterward sailed to the West Indies. While Great Britain was thus successful in humbling the naval power of the house of Bourbon, America, the grand object of contest, was not neglected.

May 4th, General Clinton made himself master
A. D. 1780. of Charlestown, in South Carolina.
And, in the same province, lord Cornwallis gained a signal victory* over the American

* The battle of Camden was fought Aug. 6th, 1780. The British army lost between three and four hundred killed and wounded; and their accounts estimate the loss of the Americans at eight or nine hundred killed and wounded, and 1000 prisoners Marshall, 4. p. 235.

army under general Gates, who lost above a thousand prisoners. But, while the arms of Great Britain were thus triumphant, a severe blow was given to her commerce. The combined fleets of France and Spain fell in with and captured five English East ^{Aug. 8th,} Indiamen, and fifty merchant vessels, ^{A. D. 1780.} bound for the West Indies. Such a prize never before entered the port of Cadiz.

-The scenes of war, how shocking soever they may appear to sober reflection, are attended with a kind of brilliancy that dazzles the imagination. But from these we must turn to others that can excite only horror and disgust. This year was distinguished by one of the most frantic exhibitions of religious bigotry that ever appeared in a civilized country. The human mind had long been obscured by ignorance and prejudice; and however astonishing it may appear amidst the progress of literary and scientific improvement, the great and obvious truths that God is the common father of all mankind, and that to him alone man is accountable in matters of religion, seem to be only a recent discovery, and yet unknown to the vulgar enthusiast. The principles of toleration were at this time well understood, and generally prevalent among the higher orders and en-

lightened classes of people in the kingdom; but in no country can the spirit of fanaticism and religious persecution be wholly banished from the minds of the vulgar. The parliament had passed an act for "relieving his majesty's subjects, professing the Romish religion, from certain penalties and disabilities," which had been imposed by laws enacted in times of distrust and commotion, but which a happy change of circumstances had rendered not less unnecessary than inconsistent with the spirit of the protestant religion, which has its foundation in freedom of thought and opinion.* This act was approved by all men of enlightened and liberal minds, and, at first, seemed to give no offence to any class of people in England. But, in Scotland, it excited great indignation, and dangerous popular commotions. The contagion of bigotry at length reached England. A number of persons, assuming the title of the protestant association, agreed on presenting a petition to parliament, in order to procure a repeal of the act lately passd in favour of the Romanists. It was also resolved, that, in order to give greater weight to their petition, it should be attended by great numbers of

* The reverend bench of bishops displayed, on this occasion, a laudable spirit of christian charity, and great liberality of sentiment,

the petitioners ; and a public advertisement, signed by lord George Gordon, was issued for that purpose.

Hitherto nothing had indicated any appearance of violence or disorder. In the ostensible view, however, of supporting the petition, not fewer than fifty thousand persons are supposed to have assembled, on Friday the 2d of June, in St. George's Fields, from whence they proceeded to the House of Commons, where the petition was presented by their president. In the course of the day, several members of both houses of parliament were grossly insulted and ill treated by the populace ; and a mob, which assembled in the evening, entirely demolished a catholic chapel in Warwick-street, Golden-square, and that of the Sardinian ambassador in Lincoln's Inn Fields. A detachment of the guards put a stop to these outrages ; and thirteen of the rioters were taken, five of whom were conducted to Newgate by an escort of the military. But on the Sunday following the mob again assembled, and burned a Romish chapel in Moorfields. On Monday the populace became still more outrageous : a school, and three dwelling-houses, in Moorfields, with a valuable library belonging to the catholic priests, and a chapel in Virginia-street, Rat-

cliffe Highway, were demolished: the mob also destroyed all the household furniture of Sir George Saville, one of the most respectable men in the kingdom, because he had brought the obnoxious bill into parliament. On Tuesday the audacity of the rioters increased, and great numbers of them assembled about the parliament house, where they behaved in so tumultuous a manner that both houses deemed it expedient to adjourn. In the evening the mob undertook to release the prisoners confined in Newgate; and the keeper having refused to deliver the keys, his house was set on fire, the prison was soon in flames, and a great part of it consumed, and above three hundred prisoners made their escape. Two other prisons, the houses of lord Mansfield and Sir John Fielding, and several other private houses, were destroyed the same evening. On Wednesday the King's Bench Prison, the New Bridewell in St. George's Fields, some chapels, and several private houses belonging to Roman catholics, a large distillery in Holborn, and several other buildings, were destroyed. An attack on the Bank was also meditated; but, happily, that great support of public credit and national commerce, was so well guarded as to bid defiance to any effort of popular fury.

Every part of the metropolis now exhibited scenes of violence and disorder, tumult and conflagration ; and it is said, that the fires were seen blazing at once in thirty-six different parts of the city.

These tremendous commotions seemed, for a while, to have paralyzed the constituted authorities. At length all property became insecure, and London was threatened with total destruction. But the vigorous measures of government prevented so dreadful a calamity. Large bodies of troops were brought from the surrounding country to the metropolis; and by the authority of the king in council, an order was issued for the military to act without waiting for directions from the civil magistrates. The troops exerted themselves with the most laudable diligence in suppressing these dangerous commotions: great numbers of the rioters were killed: many were apprehended, and after legal conviction, executed as felons: lord George Gordon was committed to the Tower ;* and, on the 8th of June, the public tranquillity was restored. After the necessary inquiries, the sufferers in those destructive tumults received ample compensation for their losses. It must

* This nobleman was afterwards tried for high treason, but acquitted.

not be supposed, that the members of the protestant association either designed or foresaw the mischiefs occasioned by this exhibition of bigotry ; but it is evident that a contemptible fanaticism was the primary cause to which these disgraceful scenes owed their origin. For, as the ocean is calm unless agitated by the winds, so the populace is naturally tranquil and unenterprising till excited by some adventitious impulse. It ought here to be observed, that, if this horrible display of fanaticism reflected disgrace on the national character, the stain was completely wiped off by the spirited conduct of parliament. That illustrious assembly, unawed by popular fury, remained immoveable in its determination to make no concessions to a frantic mob ; and in every thing relative to this interesting affair, displayed a magnanimity, as well as a liberal spirit of toleration, highly becoming a British senate. Its firmness could be equalled only by the vigour of government, whose decisive measures preserved the metropolis from universal pillage and desolation.

The internal tranquillity of the kingdom had not been long restored before the sphere of its foreign hostilities was extended by a rupture with Holland, in consequence of the clandestine trade carried on between

the Dutch and the Americans, by which the latter received supplies of naval and military stores. The war against Holland was commenced with great vigour; and the commerce of that republic received a severe blow in the loss of the island of St. Eustatius, which was

Feb. 2nd, taken by admiral Rodney. On the
A. D. 1781.

5th of August following an engagement took place off the Dogger Bank, between an English and a Dutch squadron, the former commanded by Sir Hyde Parker, the latter by admiral Zoutman. The action was obstinate and sanguinary, but indecisive, and both sides laid claim to the victory. The war against France and Spain was, this year, attended with ill success. The French made themselves masters of the island of Tobago, and the Spaniards obtained possession of Pensacola, and the whole province of West Florida.

But the most important events took place in America. There was struck the decisive blow which established the independence of the colonies. In the beginning of the cam-

March 15th, paign, earl Cornwallis obtained a
A. D. 1781.

victory over the Americans under general Greene, at Guildford, in North Carolina; but it was a hard fought battle, and the loss, on both sides, was consider-

able.* The British troops, however, derived no advantage from this victory; for three days after the action, lord Cornwallis found himself obliged to make a circuitous retreat of two hundred miles to Wilmington, leaving part of his sick and wounded behind. As his lordship found it impossible to protect South Carolina, he resolved to proceed into Virginia, in order to co-operate with the generals Philips and Arnold, the latter of whom had, in the preceding year, deserted the service of congress, and obtained the rank of brigadier-general in that of Great Britain.† In that province the hitherto scattered operations of an active campaign began to converge to a point; and at length the grand catastrophe of the American war, which had long held political conjecture in suspense, was opened to the world. The army of lord Cornwallis being reinforced by the junction of several other corps, amounted to between seven and eight thousand excel-

* The loss of the British amounted to 532, among whom were some officers of high rank and distinguished merit. The Americans lost, in killed, wounded, and missing, about 366. Marshall, 4. p. 435, &c. Before the battle the British army consisted of 1445 men: that of the American's amounted to not fewer than 3200. Ibid.

† Major Andre, a British officer of extraordinary accomplishments, having come from New York to concert with general Arnold a plan for delivering up the fort of West Point, was taken within the American lines on his return, and executed as a spy. His fate was universally lamented both by his friends and his enemies. For the narrative of Arnold's escape, and the interesting story of major Andre, see Marshall, 4. chap. 7. p. 326, &c.

lent troops; but the want of supplies, and the judicious manœuvres of the Americans, involved him in difficulties, which no degree of courage or skill could surmount. From the commencement of the campaign, general Washington had formed the design of attacking New York, the focus of the British strength in America.* Conferences had taken place between him and the French commanders, in order to concert a plan of operations for its reduction; but circumstances induced them to relinquish a design which had been so long in contemplation, and to direct their whole force against lord Cornwallis in Virginia.† But, although Washington had changed his plan, he carefully concealed his object, in order to prevent general Clinton from forming any suspicion of his real design; and, by

* Some writers have asserted, that all general Washington's demonstrations against New York, were only subservient to his real design against lord Cornwallis. It has even been said that he deceived and amused Sir Henry Clinton by announcing his intention of attacking New York in letters which he contrived to have intercepted by the British. Marshall, however, who takes every opportunity of displaying the policy and skill of Washington, mentions no such circumstance. Some letters of the American general, indeed, fell into the hands of Sir Henry Clinton; but they announced his real not feigned design, and were not written with a design to be intercepted. See Marshall, 4. p. 497.

† That New York had long been the real object of general Washington, is evident from Marshall, 4. p. 407, 511, 512, and 524. On this occasion, indeed, the American general derived considerable advantage from his intercepted letters, which confirmed the apprehensions of Sir Henry Clinton for New York.

a variety of military manœuvres, he kept New York, for the space of six weeks, in a continual state of alarm. He then suddenly marched through the Jerseys and Pennsylvania, and effected a junction with the marquis de la Fayette. From these movements Sir Henry Clinton began to discover the design of the enemy, and attempted to reinforce lord Cornwallis, whose situation was now extremely critical. This project, however, was found impracticable; for the count de Grasse arriving with a French fleet to co-operate with the American general, the British

Sept. 5,
A. D. 1781. squadron was obliged to retire, and leave him master of the navigation of the Chesapeak. The most effectual measures were now taken by the French and American generals, Rochambeau and Washington, to surround lord Cornwallis. After various manœuvres, the British army was

July 30,
A. D. 1781. closely invested in York town, and at Gloucester on the opposite side of the river by a formidable combination of military and naval force.* The assailants

Oct. 6th,
A. D. 1781. soon completed their preparations, and opened the trenches with a

* The British army, when invested, amounted to about 7640 men, including officers: that of the Americans and French was about 16,000. *Life of Washington*, 4. p. 559, &c.

numerous train of artillery. The works thrown up by the British were unable to resist the heavy fire of the enemy's batteries; and the number of the troops was daily diminished by the sword, and by sickness occasioned by constant watching and fatigue. At length, after thirteen days of almost incessant attack and defence, earl Cornwallis, seeing himself closely pressed by an enemy greatly superior in number both of troops and artillery, without any prospect of relief, and without any possibility either of escape or effectual

Oct. 19th, resistance, surrendered himself and
A. D. 1781. his army prisoners of war.* The Gloucester frigate, a number of transports, and fifteen hundred seamen, shared the fate of the army, and were assigned to the French.

This surrender of a second British army may be considered as the closing scene of the American war, of which the fatal consequences could no longer be disguised. The majority of the Commons, sensible of the danger to which the nation was exposed, by the decrease of its commerce and the pressure of the public burden, deserted the standard

* The number that surrendered was, according to the American accounts, 7073, or 7081, a disagreement occurring between the detail and the total.

of ministry. The house, therefore, addressed his majesty, requesting him to put
March 1st.
A. D. 1782. a stop to any further prosecution of the war against the American colonies. This was a most important event: it diffused universal joy through the kingdom, and produced a complete revolution in the cabinet. The marquis of Rockingham was appointed
March 27.
A. D. 1782. first lord of the treasury, and under his auspices measures were speedily taken for effecting a general peace, which now seemed every day more desirable.

At this period, indeed, the public mind was agitated by a succession of calamitous intelligence. In the preceding months of January and February the islands of Nevis and St. Christophers had surrendered to the French, and Minorca had been taken by the Spaniards. Great and well founded apprehensions were also entertained for the safety of Jamaica. That valuable island, however, was preserved by a fortunate event which served, in some degree, to counterbalance the recent disasters. Admiral Rodney having fallen in with the French fleet under the count de Grasse, in its way to join that of the Spaniards off St. Domingo, attacked it while the van was too far advanced to support the centre, and gained a signal victory. The

French admiral, in the *Ville de Paris** of a hundred and ten guns, was taken, with two of seventy-four and one of sixty-four guns. A seventy-four also blew up by accident after she had struck, and another of the same rate was sunk during the action. Thirty-six chests of money intended for the pay and subsistence of the troops destined for the conquest of Jamaica, also fell into the hands of the victors. And by a singular coincidence, which greatly enhanced the victory, the whole train of artillery, with the battering cannon and travelling carriages, happened to be on board of the captured vessels.

But amongst the variety of scenes exhibited in this eventful war, the most brilliant as well as the most tremendous was the attack and defence of Gibraltar. It has already been observed that the Spaniards had besieged this place almost from the commencement of the war. The grand attack was at last made with ten floating batteries of bomb proof construction, mounted with two hundred and twelve brass twenty-six pounders in the hulks of ships of from

* This ship, which was a present made by the city of Paris to the French monarch, is said to have cost the enormous sum of £176,000 sterling. She had on board at her departure from port 1,300 men, including marines and land forces. Anderson's Hist. Comm. 4. p. 416.

six hundred to fourteen hundred tons burden. Princes of the blood and nobles of the highest distinction, both in Spain and France, had appeared as volunteers at the siege, and honoured with their presence this formidable assault, which was planned by the Chevalier d'Arcon, a French engineer of great eminence. The whole design displayed consummate skill, and its execution was attempted with equal courage and resolution. Early in the morning the floating batteries advanced, and having anchored in a line little more than half a mile from the shore, commenced a heavy cannonade, which was seconded by all the cannon and mortars in the lines and approaches of the besiegers. At the same instant the garrison opened all its batteries, pouring forth showers of red hot balls from the guns, and of shells from the howitzers and mortars. Four hundred pieces of the heaviest artillery playing at the same time exhibited a scene which neither pen can describe nor pencil can paint, and of which imagination can scarcely form a competent idea. This tremendous fire continued, without the least intermission on either side, until noon, when that of the assailants began somewhat to abate. The impression made by the numerous red hot balls from the garrison had at

length proved irresistible. About two in the afternoon the largest of the floating batteries were perceived to be on fire, and before one the next morning the rest were in flames and in a short time consumed. A number of rockets were thrown up as signals of distress; and the humanity which the English displayed in their active and successful exertions for saving their perishing enemies, redounded not less to the honour of the national character than the signal bravery with which they had repelled their attack. Such was the issue of this celebrated assault of Gibraltar, which may justly be regarded as one of the grandest exhibitions of courage and skill recorded in the annals of war.* And the manner in which the brave general Elliot and his garrison maintained the reputation of Britain, against the most powerful and best arranged combination of naval and military force that had, perhaps, ever been brought against any fortress, will immortalize them in history, and consecrate the memory of their exploits to the admiration of posterity.

The total destruction of the floating batteries having delivered the garrison of Gibraltar from all apprehensions of a second assault,

* For a circumstantial detail of this memorable attack, see Drinkwater's *History of the Siege of Gibraltar*.

it only remained to throw in supplies of ammunition and provisions in order to enable it to sustain the blockade. By the vigorous measures of administration, and the bold and skilful conduct of admiral Howe, this was completely effected. His lordship having sailed with thirty-four ships of the line for the relief of this important place, accomplished his design in the face of the combined fleets of France and Spain, which, although considerably superior in strength, declined an engagement. After this affair the military and naval operations were of trifling importance. In the East Indies the Dutch settlements of Negapatnam and Trincomalé surrendered to the British forces. But the French made themselves masters of Cullalore, and retook Trincomalé. Some partial and indecisive actions also took place between the French and British squadrons in the Indian seas.

The death of the marquis of Rockingham, which happened on the 1st of July in this year, had damped the expectations which had been formed of great national benefits from the new administration. Never had Great Britain possessed a more patriotic minister, and his death was regarded as a public misfortune. The earl of Shelburne, however,

succeeded the marquis in his office of first lord of the treasury, and adopted his political views. Under his auspices an end was put to a ruinous war, which, without any attainable object, deluged the two hemispheres with blood. Treaties of peace were concluded between the belligerent powers. Great Britain ceded to France all the possessions held by the latter before the war, and renounced every claim with respect to the demolition of Dunkirk. France restored to Great Britain the islands of Grenada, the Grenadines, St. Christophers, St. Vincent, Dominica, Nevis, and Montserrat, and guaranteed Fort James and the river Gambia, agreeing that the gum trade should continue in the same condition as in the year 1755. And in order to prevent disputes concerning the Newfoundland fishery, the limits of the two nations in that respect were exactly defined. To Spain, Great Britain ceded East and West Florida and the island of Minorca. Spain agreed to restore to Great Britain the islands of Providence and the Bahamas, but they had been retaken before the peace was signed. Trincomalé was restored to the Dutch, who gave up to Great Britain the fort of Negapatnam, with liberty to treat for its restitution on the principle of an equivalent.

The preliminaries
were settled
January 20th,
A. D. 1783.

In the treaty with the Americans, the king of Great Britain acknowledged the thirteen provinces to be free, sovereign, and independent states, renouncing all claims to their government, property, and territorial rights. Boundary lines were very minutely drawn between the territory of the united states and the remaining American possessions of Great Britain, and some concessions were obtained in favour of the loyalists. The navigation of the Mississippi was to remain open to both parties, as well as the Newfoundland fisheries.

We cannot peruse the history of the American war without remarking some of its peculiar characteristics. These are chiefly the difficulties with which the congress and the commanders had to struggle in regard to the levying of their forces, providing for their payment, and furnishing them with arms, ammunition and clothing. These difficulties, which impeded all their military operations, originated from the circumstances of the colonies, and the structure of their political system. It has been already observed that, at the commencement of the war, America was almost destitute of European goods, and had but few internal manufactures. From these causes it was found almost impossible to provide clothing for their troops; and the same observations may be made in regard to

arms and ammunition. The poverty of the Americans and the depreciation of their paper money augmented the difficulties experienced by congress, and the hardships endured by the soldiers.* And the patriotism and patience of their troops, who performed the most painful marches often almost naked and without shoes, in the most inclement seasons, can scarcely be sufficiently admired. But the greatest embarrassments of the Americans arose from their political system. The congress was not the representative body of one large community, but of thirteen distinct and independent states. All its resolutions were, therefore, to be executed by the separate states, which occasioned great tardiness and confusion. From these causes the provincial quotas were often brought so late into the field as entirely to frustrate the views of the commanders, especially as from the short enlistments almost the whole army was annually renewed.† It does not appear that the regular force of the Americans, at any period of the war, amounted to more than

* From this depreciation of paper money, the pay of an American captain would scarcely provide him with shoes. *Life of Washington*, 4. p. 268.

† Some of the men were enlisted for three years and some during the war; but the greatest number only for one year, and many for still shorter periods.

twenty thousand men, of whom seldom more than two thirds, sometimes not more than half, were fit for duty; and their militia were never to be relied on in any arduous enterprise.* Yet this small number of raw, undisciplined, and half naked troops, successfully resisted the mighty power of Great Britain, when in the meridian of its greatness. Posterity will be astonished that the British ministers did not, at an early period of the contest, send a force sufficient to reduce the colonies to obedience, in which case foreign states would not have engaged in their quarrel. Had Great Britain sent such armies across the Atlantic as she supported on the continent of Europe in the reign of queen Anne, or in the seven years war in Germany, or as are now employed in Portugal, it appears evident that, according to all human probability, America must have been brought to submission before either France or Spain ever thought of hazarding a war in support of her cause. But so inadequate was the force employed to the magnitude of the object, that, if we except the disastrous affairs of generals

* In 1780 congress intended to have in the field 25,000 effective men. In 1781 a resolution of congress called for an army of 37,000 men; but it does not appear that half the number were ever raised, or that if levied they could have been maintained. Marshall, 4. p. 303, and p. 502, &c.

Burgoyne and Cornwallis, all the actions between the British and American armies were no more than skirmishes, which would scarcely be thought worthy of mention in the history of European wars.* But in reviewing the diminutive armies which had contended for dominion in America, it must be considered that, with every possible exertion, Great Britain could only have postponed an event which must sooner or later have happened. From the nature of things it was evident that the western could not for ever remain in subjection to the eastern hemisphere.†

After concisely relating the origin, progress, and result of the American war, and delineating its prominent and peculiar features, it is requisite to cast a glance on the affairs of India—a subject not less connected with the commercial, political, and military history of Great Britain. Hyder Ally, a soldier of fortune, who had learned the rudiments of the tactical art among the French,

* None of the actions which took place between the British and the Americans exhibit a list of a thousand killed and wounded on either side: in general the number did not exceed two or three or at the most, five or six hundred, and except at Camden, in South Carolina, the number of prisoners never amounted to any thing near a thousand. This will appear from a perusal of Marshall's elaborate *Life of Washington*; of Ramsay's and Gordon's *History of the American war*, and of other historians who have treated the same subject.

† See the observations already made on this subject.

and distinguished himself in their service, having, in the year 1763, been advanced to the command of the army of Mysore, deposed his sovereign, and usurped the throne. In a short time he extended his dominions till his power became formidable to the British East India Company. It was at length deemed expedient to check his ambition. A war was commenced in 1767, and was carried on for more than two years with various success. In 1769, Hyder advanced within a little distance of Madras, and compelled the government to conclude a disadvantageous peace. But in 1774, the British having entered into a war with the Robillas, invaded and conquered their country, as well as several other large tracts. By these conquests the territorial boundaries of the East India Company, were advanced to the westward within twenty-five miles of Agra, north westward to the upper part of the navigable course of the Ganges, and south westward to the Jumma.*

In 1778, a war commenced between the British and the Mahrattas.† About the same

* The Jumma is a river which runs past Delhi and Agra, and falls into the Ganges.

† On this occasion, a brigade, consisting of 7000 Indians, commanded by European officers, traversed the whole country from the river Jumma to the coast of Malabar. M. Rennell's Memoir, introduction,

time the war broke out between Great Britain and France; and Hyder Ally, probably expecting assistance from the French, levied an army of a hundred thousand men, and made a dreadful irruption into the Carnatic. For some time the rapid success of his arms threatened the annihilation of the British power in the Indian peninsula; but the enterprising genius, the skilful manœuvres, and indefatigable exertions of general Sir Eyre Coote, put a stop to the progress of this formidable invader. During several years Hyder Ally, being supported by the French, maintained an obstinate contest. At length, being weary of a war carried on at a great expence, without any prospect of success, he sincerely desired its termination. But he did not live to see that event.* He died in 1782, and was succeeded by his son, the famous Tippoo Saib, who, in 1784, concluded a treaty of peace with the English.

Great Britain now saw tranquillity restored throughout all her possessions; but the terms of the general peace concluded in Europe, met with no small degree of disapprobation.†

* Sir Eyre Coote, who obtained so much honour by his conduct in this war, died about five months after his celebrated rival, Hyder Ally.

† The address of thanks for the peace was carried in the House of Lords by a majority of 72 to 39; but lost in the House of Commons by a majority of 224 to 208.

It must, however, be considered, that the American war had no longer any attainable object. The fatal contest had diminished, in an alarming degree, the commerce of Great Britain, and more than doubled the national debt, and it could not have been continued without an enormous and rapidly increasing expence.*

The peaceful and prosperous period of ten years which ensued, affords few materials for history.

It will, therefore, suffice to give a short sketch of the general complexion of affairs, and of a few particular circumstances which mark this uniform scene of public tranquillity and progressive improvement. Soon after the conclusion of the peace, a change took place in the cabinet. Mr. Fox and lord North were made secretaries of state, and the duke of Portland succeeded lord Shelburne in the office of first lord of the treasury. This was called the coalition ministry, which remained in power till Mr. Fox brought in his

* Before the commencement of the war, the imports were valued at £14,815,855. and the exports at £17,285,486. sterling. In 1782, the last year of the war, the imports amounted only to the value of £10,341,628. exports to £13,009,458. In 1775, the public debt amounted to £129,146,322. At the conclusion of the peace in 1783, it was £262,318,198. See M'Arthur's Financial and Political Facts, p. 281, append. No. 5.

famous bill for regulating the affairs of the
 Dec. 17th, East India Company. The rejection of this bill, in the House of
 A. D. 1783. Lords, caused some ferment in the cabinet, as well as in the parliament; and, two days after, a royal message required the two secretaries to send in the seals of their office. At the same time, Mr. Pitt succeeded the duke of Portland as first lord of the treasury, and brought his friends into most of the other departments of administration.

For some time, however, the new ministers had to contend with a formidable opposition. An appeal to the people was made by dissolving the parliament, and proceeding
 March 25th, to a new election.*
 A. D. 1784.

This measure proved successful. Public opinion declared itself in favour of the minister; and on the meeting of the
 May 18th, new parliament, he found himself
 A. D. 1784. supported by a great majority. One of his first measures was his introduction of the famous East India bill for establishing a power of control in this kingdom, by which the executive government in India is con-

* At this critical juncture, the great seal of the kingdom was stolen from the house of the lord chancellor. This singular occurrence gave rise to various surmises, but was not followed by any important consequences.

nected with that of the rest of the British empire.* This bill passed through both houses without any violent opposition, and was the most important affair transacted in this session. The following year, Mr. Pitt undertook with some ardour the business of

April 18th, parliamentary reform, and intro-
A. D. 1785. duced a specific plan for that purpose; but, after a long and argumentative debate, it was rejected by a very considerable

majority.† In the following year,
A. D. 1786. both the ministry and the parliament concurred in a measure which promised, and, indeed, has produced great national benefit. This was the establishment of a sinking fund, on a permanent principle, which had never before been effected. The sum of one million was to be annually appropriated to this purpose, and the fund being rendered inalienable, and constantly improved by the system of compound interest, has an effect in reducing the national

* The board of control consists of six persons nominated by the king, among whom are one of the secretaries of state, and the chancellor of the exchequer. This board is to superintend and direct all concerns that in anywise relate to the civil and military government and revenues of the British territorial possessions in India.

† The principal feature of the minister's plan was, the suppression of the decayed boroughs, and the transfer of their representatives to the counties.

debt, which would appear incredible, were it not proved by accurate calculation.*

Among the transactions of this year may be noticed the trial of Warren Hastings, late governor-general of Bengal, on various charges of high crimes and misdemeanours, pretended to have been committed by him in that office.

Feb. 17, A. D. 1778. Mr. Burke took the lead in this affair, and the governor-general was impeached by the Commons at the bar of the House of Peers. This trial, which lasted seven years and three months, has for length of time and display of eloquence, never had any parallel in the history of the world.† But, at length, after the most minute investigation, Mr. Hastings was honourably acquitted. The most important circumstance of the following year was the consolidation of the customs and excise, a measure of extraordinary labour and detail: but of incalculable advantage to commerce, by simplifying the intricacies attending mercantile transactions.

* The advantages of the sinking fund are evident from this consideration, that the money, thus appropriated, is improved on the system of compound interest; but loans pay only simple interest. The sinking fund was, in the year 1801, supposed to pay off annually five millions of debt. M'Arthur, p. 282. appendix.

† For the extraordinary display of Mr. Burke's eloquence on this occasion, see Bissot's *Life of Burke*.

A. D. 1783.

The next year was rendered memorable to latest posterity, by the first legislative effort towards the abolition of that inhuman and infamous traffick in slaves, so long carried on by the Europeans on the coast of Africa, to the great disgrace of the christian religion and of the civilzed world. Several humane and benevolent individuals had, at different periods, declared themselves advocates for the unfortunate negroes. But the people called Quakers may claim the honour of making the first public attempt to put a stop to this iniquitous trade. The cause had been first taken up by the quakers of America: those of Great Britain followed the laudable example, and presented a petition on that subject to parliament. The cause soon became popular: eminent divines and eloquent writers recommended it from the pulpit and the press. Mr. Pitt, Mr. Wilberforce, and Sir W. Dolben, concurred in bringing the affair before parliament; and that illustrious assembly entered on the investigation in that liberal and spirited manner which might be expected from a British senate. The result was an act for regulating the transportation of negro slaves from the African coast to the British

colonies in the West Indies.* This, however, was intended only as a temporary relief, preparatory to the abolition of a traffic so repugnant to the principles of the christian religion, and the dictates of humanity.

At this period, Great Britain at peace with her neighbours and united at home, enjoyed every kind of public felicity; but her brilliant prospects were suddenly obscured by an incident which excited the most gloomy apprehensions. In the autumn of 1788, his Majesty was attacked with a dangerous indisposition, which continued so long that the parliament, after many interesting debates, resolved that the prince of Wales should be requested to accept the regency under certain limitations. But early in the ensuing year, the happy event of his majesty's convalescence put a stop to the contests which agitated the cabinet and the

* For an account of the stowage of negroes on board the slave ships, before this act was passed, see Clarkson's Hist. Abolition of the Slave Trade, vol. 1. p. 329; and more particularly vol. 2. p. 112, with the plate annexed. The room allowed to each man slave was only six feet in length by sixteen inches in breadth: to every woman five feet in length by sixteen inches in breadth: to a boy five feet in length by fourteen, and to a girl four feet six inches by one foot in breadth. The mortality among the slaves in voyages from the nearest coasts of Africa to the West Indies, appeared, at the lowest computation, to be seventeen times, and from the more distant parts, thirty-four times as great as the usual proportion of death to population. For the destruction caused by the slave trade among the British seamen, see Clarkson's Hist of the Abolition, 2. p. 339, 351.

senate. The sorrow and alarm which the illness of the sovereign had diffused through the nation, now gave way to the most unequivocal demonstrations of joy, and, on his ^{April 23d,} Majesty's first appearance in public, ^{A. D. 1789.} and his solemn procession to St. Paul's, to return thanks to heaven for his recovery, all classes of people strove with laudable emulation to exhibit proofs of attachment to his person and government.

Six years had now elapsed since the close of the American war; and this tranquil period had unfolded a scene of progressive prosperity, which demonstrated the uncertainty of political conjecture. From the beginning to the end of the contest, the measures of the government, in regard to America, had been strenuously opposed by a numerous party in both houses of parliament; and the eloquence of Chatham and Burke, and other able orators, had been unsuccessfully exerted to prevent the separation of the colonies from the empire of Great Britain. Both the advocates for the war and its opponents, however, agreed in one principal point, and founded their arguments on the same basis: both parties considered the independence of America as ruinous to Britain; and this was the universal and invariable opinion of almost every indivi-

dual in the kingdom. But time soon proved the supposition to be erroneous. The rapidly increasing population and prosperity of the transatlantic empire, opened an immense market to the merchandise of Europe; and Great Britain being the chief manufacturing country, derived the most benefit from American commerce and consumption. Since the loss of the colonies, a loss that politicians considered as irreparable and inevitably ruinous to the parent country, the manufactures and commerce of Great Britain had flourished in a manner unparalleled in any former period of her history.

This happy state of things was very near being interrupted by an unexpected affair which took place in one of the remotest parts of the globe. The enterprising spirit of the British merchants had opened a trade with the north western coast of America, which, till partially explored by the celebrated capt. Cook, had been equally unknown to geographical science and commercial adventure. This distant region was supposed to afford a considerable quantity of those valuable furs, which fetch so high prices in China; and the spirit of mercantile adventure was excited to explore this new channel of commerce. In 1785, and the two succeeding years, four

vessels from London, after doubling Cape Horn, arrived on the north west coast of America. The success of the enterprize equalled the most sanguine expectations. By an exchange of commodities with the natives, cargoes of the finest furs were produced, and sold to the Chinese at so high a price, as amply to reimburse and enrich the adventurers. Other ships from Bengal were employed in the same trade; and a settlement was formed and a factory established at Nootka Sound, in the fiftieth degree of north latitude. But, in 1789, the Spaniards pretending a right of sovereignty over the whole western coast of America, seized on the settlement; and the British vessels that were then in the sound were for some time detained, but afterwards permitted to proceed on their voyage. Of these transactions no authentic or circumstantial account was received by the British government, April 30th, A. D. 1790, until captain Mears presented his memorial. After this communication, a positive demand of restitution and satisfaction was sent to the court of Madrid, and the most active and formidable preparations for war began to be made. But the effusion of human blood was happily prevented by the pacific disposition which prevailed both at St. James's

and the Escorial. His catholic majesty complied with the just demands of the king of Great Britain. A convention was agreed on between the two monarchs; and the right of the British crown to the possession of Nootka Sound was acknowledged by the court of Spain. The cost of the armament prepared on this occasion was estimated at three millions sterling; but the expences of a war might have amounted to more than twenty times that sum.

But while the wisdom and firmness of government preserved the nation from war in this quarter of the globe, accident, ambition, or avarice, involved its Indian empire in contest and blood. Of all the native princes of India, Tippoo Saib, son and successor of Hyder Ally, was the most formidable to the British government, and the most hostile to its authority. Soon after the peace of Mangalore, in 1784, a variety of circumstances concurred to excite a well-grounded suspicion that a plan was concerted between the tyrant of Mysore and the court of France, for the annoyance of Great Britain in her Indian possessions.

The execution of this plan, whatever it might be, was prevented by the French revolution. But the complex politics of India could not

fail of affording frequent pretexts for hostilities. The Rajah of Travancore, an ally of the English, having entered, although somewhat rashly, into a war with the sultan, the company could not refuse him the necessary assistance. But without attempting to distinguish between the real motives and ostensible pretexts of the war, it suffices to observe, that the British government might justly consider the opportunity as favourable for the humiliation of a formidable enemy, an usurper and tyrant, the diminution of whose power must be a service rendered to humanity. The Nizam and the Mahrattas, the most powerful states of India, were then in alliance with the British, and declared their readiness to concur in crushing the rising power of Mysore.

The war commenced in June, 1790; but the transactions of the first campaign were not of great importance. The second campaign was unfavourable to the British and their allies. Lord Cornwallis advanced into the heart of the enemy's country, and even penetrated to Seringapatam, the capital; but a dreadful scarcity of provisions, especially of grain, and an epidemical disease among the troops, obliged the two British armies under lord Cornwallis and general Aber-

crombie to retreat. These evils, however, vanished by degrees. The junction with the Mahrattas afforded a supply of provisions, as well as of bullocks for drawing the artillery. An active scene of war now commenced. A number of forts, which interrupted the communication of the army with that of the Nizam, were reduced. Nundydroog, a fortress situated on a mountain 1700 feet in height, was taken by storm on the 18th of October; and this brilliant success of the British arms was followed by other important conquests.

But the most splendid achievement of this campaign was the assault and capture of Severndroog, or the Rock of Death, a stupendous fortress covering the summit of a lofty mountain, and which, from the strength of its situation and the noxious quality of its atmosphere, occasioned by the surrounding hills and woods, had derived its terrific name. Before this place the sultan of Mysore had flattered himself that one half of the Europeans would perish by sickness, and the other half by the sword. The event, however, proved contrary to his expectation. The garrison trusted more to the strength of the place than to their own exertions, and on the 21st December, 1791, being only the eleventh

day of the siege, this fortress, hitherto deemed impregnable, was taken by assault in less than an hour, in open day, without the loss of a man.*

In the beginning of the following year, the whole force of the allies, except the Bombay army, was assembled in the vicinity of Hooleadroog; and, on the 1st of February, 1792, they began their march towards Seringapatam: on the 5th, they took a position within six miles of Tippoo's fortified camp. On the following morning, lord Cornwallis having reconnoitred the sultan's position, ordered a general attack to be made in the evening. The plan of attack was equally bold and judicious: the result was, that Tippoo was driven from his camp into Seringapatam: all his redoubts were taken, and a lodgement was made on the island in which the city is seated. On the 16th February, general Abercrombie, with the troops from Bombay, joined

* Severndroog stands in the way between Bangalore and Seringapatam. It is a "vast mountain of rock, and is supposed to rise above half a mile in perpendicular height from a base of ten or twelve miles in circumference, embraced by walls on every side, and defended by cross walls and barriers wherever it was deemed accessible. The summit of the mountain is divided by a chasm into two hills, which having each their defences, form two distinct citadels, capable of being maintained independent of the lower works, and affording a secure retreat, which might encourage the garrison to hold out to the last extremity." Narr. p. 67.

the main army. All possible preparations were now made for carrying the capital by assault. Tippoo sultan, however, warded off the blow by commencing a negotiation. The dictates of policy might suggest the expediency of sparing the sultan of Mysore as a counterpoise to the rising greatness of the Mabrattas; and the British general was unwilling to sacrifice so many brave soldiers as must have fallen in storming the city of Seringapatam. A treaty was therefore concluded on the 19th of March, 1792: the principal articles were, that Tippoo Saib was to cede to the allied powers half of his dominions;* that he should pay three crores, and thirty lacks of rupees: that all prisoners should be restored; and that two of the three eldest sons of the sultan should be delivered as hostages for the due performance of the treaty. Thus did lord Cornwallis conduct, with consummate skill and signal success, a war in which the British empire in India obtained not only greater security, but also a considerable addition of territory.†

In exhibiting this sketch of the Indian war, it was necessary to anticipate the order

* The British, the Nizam, and the Mabrattas.

† This sketch of the war of Mysore is chiefly taken from major Dron's excellent narrative.

of time for the sake of rendering the narrative lucid and succinct. We must now return to a more peaceful and domestic portion of our history. While the arms of Great Britain were triumphant in India, her legislature displayed its liberality of sentiment by considerably extending the toleration already enjoyed by persons professing the Roman catholic religion. A bill for that purpose was brought

Feb. 21st,
A D. 1791.

in by Mr. Mitford, and the two houses entered on the subject in a manner that did them infinite honour. The bill passed without opposition, and met with the approbation of every liberal minded protestant in the kingdom. Religious persecution is the offspring of dark and barbarous ages: in proportion as the minds of men become more enlightened, the cause of toleration must gain the ascendancy.

This year was distinguished by the interference of Great Britain in the affairs of the Russian and Ottoman empires. A large naval armament was equipped, and maintained, for the space of four months, at an enormous expence, for the purpose of supporting the Turks. The proposed war against Russia, however, was extremely unpopular. In the House of Commons it had met with great opposition; and the people of England could

scarcely perceive the expediency of lavishing their blood and their treasure for the purpose of determining, whether a district, on the shores of the Euxine, in the barbarous regions of Scythia, should be assigned to the sceptre of Moscow, or to that of Constantinople. The eloquence of Mr. Fox contributed, in an eminent degree, to prevent the dreaded hostilities ; and Catharine II. acknowledged the powers of his eloquence by placing his bust between those of Demosthenes and Cicero.*

About this time the French revolution began to darken, with its baleful shades, the political horizon of Europe. Its evident tendency towards a turbulent democracy, had excited a considerable degree of alarm in most of the cabinets, and its pernicious principles began to spread into the neighbouring countries. In Great Britain it had become a common subject of popular discussion, and had produced, in the public mind, a marked difference of opinion and sentiment. Some regarded it as an event which threatened to convulse the whole system of civilized society: others imagined that they saw the commencement of a golden age of liberty in

* This year the right of juries to decide both on the law and the fact in case of libels, was determined by parliament in pursuance of a bill brought in by Mr. Fox.

France, and of general peace throughout Europe. This difference of sentiment soon excited all the virulence of party spirit, which was daily inflamed by injurious insinuations, conveyed in newspapers and political pamphlets. In many of the large towns of Great Britain, associations had been formed for the purpose of celebrating, by a convivial meeting, the anniversary of the French revolution. But these proceedings did not escape the animadversion of the opposite party, who represented the admirers of the new constitution of France as determined republicans, and the celebration of this annual festival as an act of sedition. These representations had a considerable effect on the public mind: the anniversary meetings, on the 14th July, began to give general umbrage to those who dreaded the diffusion of revolutionary principles and the influence of example. The gentlemen who met on that day at the Crown and Anchor tavern, in London, were about fifteen hundred in number; but rumours having been spread to the disadvantage of the meeting, the populace began to collect in a tumultuous manner; and the company, in order to prevent any disturbance, dispersed at an early hour. It was evident that these revolutionary meetings were becoming

extremely unpopular in every part of the kingdom. But in the large and populous town of Birmingham, where a violent animosity had long subsisted between the high church party and the dissenters, religious bigotry concurred with party politics in producing the most dreadful effects. A festive meeting was to be held on the 14th July, in commemoration of the fall of despotism in France, and, on the Monday preceding, some copies of a most inflammatory and seditious hand-bill were left at an inn by a person unknown, and circulated among the inhabitants. This paper, which proposed the French revolution as a model for the English, excited a considerable ferment in the town: the friends of the meeting published an advertisement, disclaiming the doctrines and sentiments which it contained; and the magistrates offered a reward of a hundred guineas for discovering the authors, printers, or publishers; but the vile incendiaries could not be traced. So many circumstances tending to inflame the minds of the people of Birmingham, on the 14th July the hotel in which the meeting was held, was surrounded by a numerous crowd, testifying their disapprobation by reiterated shouts of "Church and King," sacred and venerable names,

which by faction and bigotry are too often prostituted to the most pernicious of purposes. On the departure of the company, the windows of the hotel were demolished. An ignorant and bigotted populace, confounding the cause of the French revolution with that of religion, and reviving the scenes which eleven years before had disgraced the metropolis, proceeded to set fire to two large meeting-houses of the dissenters, which were soon destroyed; and the dwelling-house of Dr. Priestley, with the whole of his valuable library, his philosophical apparatus, and all his manuscripts, underwent a similar fate. The next day this infatuated multitude demolished the elegant mansion of Mr. Ryland, where finding a profusion of liquor, a horrible scene of intoxication ensued; and many of the rioters perished in the cellars by suffocation, or by the falling in of the roof. The houses of Mr. Hutton, the celebrated historian of Birmingham, with several others, were also destroyed by the mob, who continued their depredations till Sunday, when a military force arriving, suppressed these disorders. Several of the rioters were taken, and brought to trial; and four of them being found guilty, expiated their crimes on the gallows. Such are the disgraceful scenes

which sometimes darken the annals of a civilized age and country, and which ought to be buried in eternal oblivion, were it not requisite that they should be recorded as a warning against their repetition, and an example of the baleful effects which religious bigotry and political fanaticism are calculated to produce in the minds of an ignorant populace.

A. D. 1792. The French revolution, however, began to assume a most formidable aspect; and the diffusion of its principles, which daily became more contagious, excited universal alarm. Hostilities had already commenced between France and Austria; and his Britannic majesty, in order to be in readiness for any emergency, and to provide both for the internal peace and external security of his kingdom, issued a royal proclamation against seditious meetings, which was followed by an order for embodying the militia. Those measures, which considerably engaged the public attention, excited addresses from every part of the kingdom, testifying the loyalty of the people. And in the beginning of the following year, numerous associations were formed for the purpose of opposing republican principles and theories. These had been widely diffused among the

lower orders of the people by the writings of Paine, and other political incendiaries; but the most respectable and opulent classes of the community, justly appreciating the British constitution, were averse to any kind of innovation.

Such was the internal state of Great Britain at the commencement of the revolutionary war. The first ostensible pretext for a rupture was, the opening of the Scheldt by the French in direct contravention to existing treaties—a measure extremely injurious to Holland. This was scarcely a cause sufficient to impel Great Britain to war, considering the little disposition shewn by the Dutch to assert their claim to the exclusive navigation of that river.* But the memorable decree issued by the national convention of France, offering fraternization and military aid to all those people who should revolt against their respective governments, might be considered as a declaration of war against all nations, and consequently excited the indignation of all the cabinets of Europe. The general resentment and alarm were also greatly increased by the memorable execu-

* The exclusive navigation of the Scheldt had been assigned to the Dutch by the treaty of Munster, in 1648, and confirmed by subsequent treaties guaranteed both by England and France.

Jan. 21st,
A. D. 1793.

tion of the unfortunate Louis XVI. whose fate excited universal commiseration, and confirmed all the courts of Europe in their resolution to oppose, and, if possible, extinguish a revolutionary and regicidal system, which threatened the destruction of all existing governments. The king of Great Britain, who had hitherto maintained a neutrality, at length deemed it expedient to break off all intercourse with France—a country now considered as a volcano, of which the dreadful concussions were about to convulse the whole civilized world. If we examine the politics of Great Britain ever since the days of William III. and queen Anne, and reflect on the vast profusion of British blood, and of British treasure, for the purpose of preserving the Netherlands to the house of Austria, as a barrier to England, and the only means of preserving the independence of Holland, it is evident that the government of this country could not behold, without jealousy, the annexation of those provinces to the French republic. And if to these considerations we add the agitated state of the lower orders in this kingdom, and the dangers to be apprehended from the prevalence of revolutionary principles, we shall clearly perceive the concurrence of causes which involved

Great Britain in the storm that burst over the tomb of the murdered monarch of France.

The execution of that unfortunate prince was the prelude to a general war. The French ambassador, M. Chauvelin, was ordered to retire from England ; and, in consequence of his dismissal, the national convention issued a declaration of war against the king of Great Britain and the stadtholder of the United Provinces. The French general, Dumourier, entered the Dutch territory, and took possession of Breda and Gertrudenberg. The French, however, being attacked by the Austrian general, Clairfait, were compelled to retire with considerable loss. The prince of Saxe-Coburg also defeated the French under general Valence, who lost above five thousand men. At length Dumourier himself
March 18th,
A. D. 1793. received a total defeat on the plains of Neerwinden, and was obliged to retreat into the vicinity of Louvain. That celebrated commander was now suspected of treachery ; and the minister of war, Bournonville, with four commissioners, were sent from the convention to arrest him, and send him to Paris. The result of the business was contrary to their expectation : by the general's orders they were seized, and delivered as prisoners to the Austrians. From this moment,

if not before, Dumourier resolved to march to Paris, and overthrow the convention; but, finding his army unwilling to second his design, he consulted his personal safety by escaping to the Austrian camp.

The defeat of the French armies, and the desertion of their general, seemed to consolidate the extensive confederacy formed against the republic. The British and Hanoverian army, commanded by his royal highness the duke of York, had now joined the Austrians.* General Dampiere had succeeded Dumourier in the command of the French army; but was soon after defeated and slain. The allies, vigorously pursuing their advantages, formed the sieges of Condé and Valenciennes: the former of these places surrendered on the 10th July, to the prince of Saxe-Coburg; and the latter, on the 20th of the same month, to the duke of York. The British forces, now separating from the Austrians, formed, with the Hanoverians, Dutch, &c. a distinct army, under the command of the duke of York. His royal highness advanced to Dunkirk, and ^{Aug. 26th,} formed the siege of that place. A ^{A. D. 1793.} naval armament from England was to have co-operated with the land forces; but,

* The French republic was now at war with Austria, Prussia, Great Britain, Holland, Spain, Sardinia, and Naples.

in consequence either of neglect, or of unavoidable delay, it was not ready for sea at the time expected—a circumstance which totally disappointed the hopes of the British commander, and contributed, in no small degree, to the ill success of the enterprise. In the mean while, the enemy's gun-boats dreadfully annoyed the besiegers: a successful sortie was made by the garrison on the 6th of September; and the French collecting in superior force, the duke of York, after displaying great courage and conduct in several

Sept. 7,
A. D. 1793.

actions, was, on the following day, compelled to raise the siege with precipitation, leaving behind a numerous train of artillery. The French general, Houchard, being tried before the revolutionary tribunal at Paris, was guillotined for not cutting off the retreat of the allied army.

In the mean while, the oppressive and sanguinary measures of the jacobin government of France, excited great commotions in the interior and southern provinces. The people of Toulon concluded a treaty with the British admiral lord Hood, who took possession of the town and shipping, in the name of Louis XVII. This step, however, proved extremely disastrous to the inhabitants. The army of the convention appeared

before Toulon, and immediately commenced the siege. The British general O'Hara was
Nov. 30,
A. D. 1793. taken prisoner in an unsuccessful sortie, and the garrison lost on this occasion about a thousand men killed, wounded, and prisoners. It was soon after found that Toulon could not be maintained against the formidable force by which it was assailed. A tremendous attack being made
Dec. 19th,
A. D. 1793. by the republican army, the town was bombarded from noon till ten o'clock at night, when the allies and part of the inhabitants began to consult their safety by flight. The evacuation was performed with such precipitation, and in such circumstances of difficulty and danger, that although some of the ships in the harbour were destroyed, the greatest part fell into the hands of the enemy. A great number of the inhabitants had crowded on board the English ships; but many thousands were left exposed to the fury of the republicans, who bursting into the town, put all to the sword without distinction. Nothing could exceed the horrors of this dreadful night. The incessant thundering of cannon, the conflagration of the town and the shipping, the bustle and confusion on shore and in the harbour, with the cries of the people amidst the general

massacre, exhibited a scene of which it is difficult to form any conception.

A. D. 1794. The beginning of this year was distinguished by the important alliances which the court of Great Britain concluded with the empress of Russia, the king of Sardinia, and the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel. By the convention between the courts of London and Petersburg, his Britannic majesty, and the empress of Russia, agreed to employ their respective forces in the "just and necessary war" in which they were engaged against France, and reciprocally promised not to lay down their arms but by common consent. But, notwithstanding this treaty, Catharine II. employed her armies in the subjugation and partition of Poland, and took no active part whatever in the war against France. By the treaty between the courts of London and Turin, Great Britain engaged to pay two hundred thousand pounds sterling per ann. to the king of Sardinia, with three months pay in advance.* The landgrave of Hesse-Cassel was to furnish eight thousand men for three years, in return for which aid England was to grant him an annual subsidy of fifty-six thousand, and a hundred

* The treaty with Russia was concluded on the 25th March, and that with Sardinia on the 25th April, 1794.

thousand pounds levy money, besides a certain sum for every Hessian soldier that should be slain; so that the greater the number of his men that were killed, the greater would be the sums of money to come into his pocket.

Soon after these transactions, the attention of the court and the kingdom was directed to the proceedings of the corresponding societies, which had been suspected of designs hostile to the British constitution. In consequence of an order from government, the books and papers of these societies, and several of their principal members, were apprehended, among whom were Mr. Thomas Hardy, Mr. Daniel Adams, Mr. Horne Tooke, Mr. Jeremiah Joice, Mr. John Thelwall, the celebrated lecturer, Mr. John Augustus Bonney, Mr. Stewart Kidd, and some others. These gentlemen were tried on a charge of high treason, and honourably acquitted. The country had awaited the issue of those trials with anxious suspense; and the result exhibited a demonstrative proof of the excellence of the British laws, at a moment when the scaffolds of revolutionary France were streaming with the blood of the innocent.*

* The execution of the king and queen of France, and every other occurrence in which Great Britain was not immediately concerned, is omitted in this compendium, as the author has treated these affairs at large in his General History of Europe since the peace of 1763,

While the apprehension of real or imaginary dangers agitated the public mind, the naval power of Great Britain evinced its accustomed superiority, and various colonial conquests were the result of its exertions. The island of Tobago, the settlements of Fort Jeremie, and Cape Nicola Mole, in St. Domingo, with the small islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, near the mouth of the river St. Lawrence, were surrendered to the English, who also became masters of Pondicherry, Mahé, and the other French fortresses in India. But the continental campaign exhibited a train of the most brilliant successes on the side of the republic. The French generals, Jourdan and Pichegru, after repeatedly defeating the allies, subjugated the whole of the Austrian Netherlands.* Cologne, Bonn, and Aix-la-Chapelle, also surrendered to the republican arms.

A. D. 1795. : In the beginning of the year, the
 A. D. 1795. Waal being frozen over, the French
 army, under general Pichegru, crossed that
 Jan. 10th, river on the ice; and the allies
 A. D. 1795. being attacked at every point, and
 totally defeated, were obliged to retire. The

* In this compendium the reader will not expect a detailed account of the multiplex variety of even : produced by the French revolution, and the consequent wars, as a distinct and circumstantial relation of these affairs will be found in the author's General History of Europe since the peace of 1763, published in 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1810.

British troops, after suffering incredible hardships, and sustaining a considerable loss from the inclemency of the weather, made good its retreat to Bremen, from whence it returned by sea to England. The prince of Orange, with his family and valuables, embarked for England, where he arrived in safety, and had the palace of Hampton Court assigned for his residence. The United Provinces made no opposition to the French; and general Pichegru entered Amsterdam in triumph, Jan. 20th, A. D. 1795. amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants.

For the exigencies of this year, one hundred thousand seamen, and a hundred and fifty thousand land forces, including the militia, were voted by parliament. A loan of eighteen millions was among the ways and means for defraying the expenditure of the war. Another loan, not exceeding four millions six hundred thousand pounds, was assigned to the aid of the emperor. But, notwithstanding the generosity of Great Britain in thus affording pecuniary aid to her allies, the grand confederacy was verging towards its dissolution. The king of Prussia, one of the first and most active promoters of the war, notwithstanding the liberal subsidy which he received from England, concluded

experienced a fatal reverse. The republican troops collecting in great numbers under general Hoche, this intrepid and enterprising band was defeated, and the greatest part of the emigrants, Chouans, and English, amounting to nearly ten thousand men, were killed or made prisoners. The count de Sombreuil, the bishop of Dol, with his clergy, who accompanied the expedition, and most of the emigrant officers were shot at the head of the revolutionary army.

The licentious and levelling spirit which had prevailed among the lower classes of society in England, ever since the first period of the French revolution, appeared in an act of outrageous disloyalty on the day of the meeting of parliament. As his
Oct. 29th,
A. D. 1795. majesty was proceeding to the House of Lords, a numerous and daring mob insulted him with cries and hissings: a number of stones were thrown at the state coach, and a bullet, or something of that kind, supposed to be discharged from an air gun, and suspected to have proceeded from a window in Margaret-street, near Westminster Abbey, passed through the glass of the coach, but happily did no injury either to the king or his attendants. On his Majesty's return through St. James's Park the mob renewed

their outrages.* And after the king had alighted the state coach was again attacked and almost demolished in passing through Pall Mall in its way to the Mews. In consequence of these daring insults a reward of one thousand pounds was offered for the discovery and conviction of any of the delinquents. Several were apprehended, among whom one man named Kidd Wake, a journeyman printer, being found guilty of insulting his Majesty by hooting, hissing, &c. was punished with a rigour calculated to deter others from imitating his example.†

Such a nefarious transaction could not take place in the British metropolis without exciting sensations of universal abhorrence throughout the whole kingdom. The two houses of parliament voted an address, testifying their indignation and abhorrence at the daring insults and outrages offered to his majesty; and the whole nation expressed the same sentiments. Two bills were brought in by lord Grenville and Mr. Pitt: the first was entitled “an act for the safety and preservation of his majesty’s person and government

* The mob dispersed on the appearance of a party of the life guards.

† Five years imprisonment and hard labour, and to find security in £1000. for 10 years, besides standing in the pillory on a market day at Gloucester.

“against treasonable and seditious practices
“and attempts:” the other “an act to pre-
“vent seditious meetings and assemblies.”
These bills were vigorously opposed in both
houses, and petitions appeared against them
from various quarters, especially from the
city of Westminster; but after being warmly
debated, both by the lords and the commons,
they passed by a great majority.*

The recal of lord Fitzwilliam from Ireland
in the beginning of this year, gave rise to
disturbances, which, at a future period, in-
volved that kingdom in all the miseries of
rebellion and anarchy. It is supposed that
this nobleman, when he accepted the office
of viceroy, was empowered to accede to a
repeal of the remaining disqualifications
of the Roman catholics. A subsequent de-
termination of government thwarted his
lordship’s intentions, and a visible disaffection
was excited throughout the kingdom in con-
sequence of this disappointment. Earl Fitz-
william was suddenly recalled; but he did
not leave Ireland without receiving the most
unequivocal marks of honour and esteem

* For the debates on this occasion, and the arguments brought forward on both sides of the question, vide Belsham’s *History of Great Britain*, vol. 10. b. 22. p. 10, &c. to 27. Compare with Belsham the accounts of the transactions of 1795, by M. Farlan and Bisset. *Hist. reign of George III.*

from a grateful people; and the 25th of March, on which his lordship departed from Dublin for England, was observed in that city as a day of general mourning. Whether it was expedient to make greater concessions to the catholics than they had obtained by acts already passed in their favour, is a question that yet remains undecided, though public opinion seems to be on the affirmative side. It is certain, however, that the refusal was the cause, or, at least, the pretext for rebellion. From that period the association, called the "Society of United Irishmen," extended itself over all the country; and a lawless and desperate populace was secretly organized into a military force, ready to burst into action at the first favourable opportunity.*

A. D. 1796. The war on the continent was still carried on with unabated vigour, by the two mighty powers of France and Austria; and the campaign was distinguished by the most extraordinary and important events. The French generals, Jourdan and Moreau,

* On the 8th April, 1795, was celebrated the marriage of the prince of Wales with the princess Caroline of Brunswick.—On the 27th October, this year, a new constitution was formed in France: the national convention was dissolved: the legislative power was vested in two councils—one of 500—the other, called the council of elders, of 250 members: the executive power was vested in a directory consisting of five members.

penetrated into the heart of Germany ; but were compelled to retreat, and abandon the whole of the imperial territory.* In Italy the most brilliant success attended the republican arms ; on that theatre the military talents of general Bonaparte, hitherto little known to the world, burst forth with conspicuous splendour. After many hard fought battles, the French armies, conducted by that celebrated commander, completed the conquest of all the Austrian dominions in Italy, established the Cisalpine republic, and compelled all the other Italian states to submit to such terms of peace as the victors thought fit to impose. After these triumphs on the southern side of the Alps, the victorious Bonaparte penetrated the mountainous region of the Tyrol, and advanced so near to Vienna that the imperial capital was filled with consternation, and daily expected the approach of the enemy. In this critical situation of his affairs, the emperor opened a negotiation with the French general ; and a suspension of arms was followed by a treaty of peace.†

While Italy and Germany were agitated by these bloody convulsions, his Britannic ma-

* The French were compelled to retreat from Germany by the archduke Charles of Austria.

† For an account of these transactions, see Adolph. Hist. of Revolutionary War—and Belsh. Hist. Eng. vol. 10.

jesty conceived the laudable design of restoring to his subjects, and to all Europe, the blessings of peace. Hitherto, the fluctuating state of the French government, in the hands of ephemeral factions, rising and falling in rapid succession, had been considered as incompatible with political confidence, and the stability of treaties. But that government having now acquired a degree of consistency, and assumed the form of a regular system, the obstacle to negotiation was in a great measure removed.* From these considerations his majesty having signified a disposition to treat with the French republic, lord Malmesbury was sent for that purpose to Paris. On the part of the British government it was proposed that France should restore Belgium to the house of Austria, and evacuate Italy. On these conditions Great Britain offered to restore all her conquests in the East and West Indies.† This proposal, however, was rejected by the directory of France, on the pretence that Belgium had, by an irrevocable law, been annexed to the territories of the republic; and, after a residence of nearly two months, the British ambassador was ordered

* By the dissolution of the convention and the establishment of the directorial executive. (See the preceding note.)

† Lord Malmesbury presented his memorial on the 24th Oct. 1796.

to depart from Paris in forty-eight hours. Had the French government been sincerely desirous of restoring tranquillity to Europe, this appears to have been a favourable opportunity. But they had no right to suppose that foreign nations would think themselves bound to accede to all that the convention had thought fit to decree on the subject of territorial annexations. In the British parliament the conduct of ministers in this negotiation was approved by a great majority, but the opposition contended that they had not been sincere in their endeavours to procure a peace.*

During this active campaign on the continent, no important transactions took place on the ocean. A French squadron destroyed a considerable quantity of British property on the coasts of Newfoundland. But this loss was compensated in another quarter. A Dutch squadron, consisting of seven ships of different rates, being fitted out for the recapture of the Cape of Good Hope, the seamen, declaring themselves in the interest of the prince of Orange, compelled their officers to surrender to the English. In St. Domingo

* For some pointed but too severe animadversions on this negotiation, see Belsham's History of England, 10. p. 133, &c.

the British troops made little progress, and suffered extremely by the yellow fever. The island of Corsica was this year abandoned by the English, the inhabitants having returned to their allegiance to the French republic.

Towards the close of the year, the French government having manifested an intention of making a descent on this kingdom, it was judged requisite to augment the military force by a supplementary militia, and to levy fifteen thousand men from the different parishes for the sea service. Numerous volunteer corps of cavalry and infantry were also raised in every part of the kingdom. But it soon appeared that the directory, encouraged by the discontents which prevailed in Ireland, had fixed on that country as the most eligible point of attack. The French fleet seized the opportunity afforded by a thick fog, to escape the vigilance of the British admiral Colpoys, by whom it had been several months blocked up in Brest, and immediately sailed for Ireland. This fleet consisted of about fifty sail, and had on board twenty-five thousand men, under the command of general Hoche.* But, on its first departure, several

* According to Belsham, the fleet consisted of eighteen sail of the line and thirteen frigates, the rest were transports. *Hist. Eng.* 10. p. 89.

of the ships were lost or greatly damaged in the passage of the Raz; and, soon after, the commander in chief was separated by a storm from the rest of the fleet, which at length reached the Irish coast, in a shattered state, and cast anchor in Bantry Bay. After waiting some days in vain for the arrival of general Hoche, who was the only person intrusted with the orders of government, the admiral resolved to return to Brest, which he effected with difficulty: one of his ships of the line and two frigates foundered at sea, another ship of the line was driven ashore, and a frigate was taken by the English. Thus this formidable armament was defeated, not by the naval power of Great Britain, but by the hostility of tempests. The circumstance, however, was fortunate for England: the people of Ireland shewed the most evident marks of loyalty, and a determined resolution to oppose the invaders; but, had a landing been effected, it is impossible to know what might have been the consequences.

The beginning of the year was distinguished by a singular occurrence. This was an invasion of England by twelve hundred French, without artillery, and almost without accom-

Dec. 24th,
A. D. 1796.

A. D. 1797.

Feb. 23,

trements, who having landed in Pembroke-shire, surrendered themselves as prisoners. It afterwards appeared that this forlorn corps was composed of deserters, mutineers, and vagabonds; collected from the different goals of France, and sent into England, in order to rid the republic of a nuisance.

A domestic affair, of a commercio-political nature, soon after excited in the public mind a serious although unfounded alarm. The frequent loans to government, and the exportation of bullion and cash in foreign subsidies, had greatly diminished the quantity of specie in the bank of England, that vast reservoir of national wealth. The public apprehensions of an invasion from France, at the same time, operating on timorous minds, had caused an uncommon run on many of the country banks; and the great demand of cash from the bank of England, induced the directors to lay the affair before government. In consequence of this extraordinary circumstance,

Feb. 26th,
A. D. 1797. an order of council was published, prohibiting the issue of cash in payment from the bank, till the sense of parliament had been taken on the subject. A committee being appointed to investigate the affairs of the bank, the result was in the highest degree satisfactory. It appeared that

the amount of demands on the bank was £13,770,000. that its funds amounted to £17,597,000. exclusive of £11,600,000. in three per cent. stocks, lent at different times to government. This being estimated at fifty per cent. according to the actual price of three per cents. the whole capital of the bank amounted to the vast sum of £9,627,000.* The publication of the report of the committee immediately extinguished the alarm excited in the mercantile world. An act of parliament confirmed the order of council, and made bank of England notes a legal tender of payment. Public credit was restored, commercial circulation resumed its activity, and the disastrous consequences which had been apprehended by some desponding politicians were proved to be only imaginary.

From this object the minds of the people were soon diverted, by the news of a most brilliant victory obtained by Sir John Jervis over the Spanish fleet, consisting of twenty-seven sail of the line, under the command of Don Joseph de Cordova. In this memorable action, which took place on the 14th February, 1797, off Cape St. Vincent, Sir John

* Belsham's Hist. Eng. vol. 10. p. 197.

Jervis, who had only fifteen ships of the line, displayed his consummate skill in naval tactics, by separating one third of the enemy's fleet from the main body. The Spanish admiral also gave proofs of the most dauntless courage.* After an obstinate contest, the English captured four Spanish ships of the line, two of a hundred and twelve guns each, one of eighty, and one of seventy-four. The honours of the peerage were deservedly conferred on the admiral with the title of lord St. Vincent, in commemoration of the place where he gained this brilliant victory.

The public joy excited on this occasion was somewhat abated by the ill success of an attack on the town of Santa Cruz, ^{July 16th,} A. D. 1797. in the island of Teneriffe. In this unfortunate attempt commodore, afterwards admiral Nelson, lost his arm; and the troops were obliged to re-embark with a very considerable loss.†

This year was distinguished by an occurrence, the only one of its kind recorded in the

* Don Joseph de Cordova, in the Santissima Trinidad, of 136 guns, long sustained the attacks of three British ships of the line, without being brought to surrender, though his ship was reduced to a wreck. Belsh. 10. p. 274.

† In February, 1797, the island of Trinidad surrendered to Sir Ralph Abercrombie and Admiral Harvey; but for want of a sufficient force, the same commanders failed in an attempt on Porto Rico

history of any age or country: Armies have frequently mutinied, and military commanders have often erected the standard of revolt. But at this period the navy of England exhibited a similar scene; and the seamen, so long the protectors and the pride of the nation, seemed to threaten its overthrow. On the 14th of April a most alarming mutiny broke out in the channel fleet, lying at Spithead, under the command of lord Bridport. Two delegates were appointed from each ship, and these had for several days the entire command of the fleet, over which no officer had the least authority. The delegates met every day on board the admiral's ship, and drew up a regular statement of their complaints, demanding an increase of pay and certain regulations in regard to provisions, of which they represented the quality as bad, and the allowance as scanty, notwithstanding the immense expenditure of the navy and victualling offices. This extraordinary and alarming affair demanding the most serious attention of government, a committee of the admiralty, with earl Spencer at its head, was sent to Portsmouth. A conference was held with the delegates; and, after some deliberation, the fair claims of the seamen being admitted, and their grievances redressed by an

act of parliament, accompanied by his majesty's proclamation of a general pardon, the flag of revolt was struck, the officers were re-instated in their commands, and order and loyalty were restored in the fleet.

Although this mutiny was happily and speedily appeased, the example was dangerous; and it was immediately followed by the North Sea fleet, lying at the Nore, and consisting of eleven ships of the line, and as many of an inferior size, under the command of admiral Buckner. The seamen appointed delegates from each ship, and a man named Richard Parker, being elected president, had the command of the whole fleet. A deputation of the lords of the admiralty, earl Spencer, as before, being at their head, proceeded to Sheerness, and offered to the delegates the same terms which the channel fleet had accepted with gratitude. But the demands of this convention being such as were totally incompatible with the discipline of the navy, the deputation returned after declaring, in firm language, that the seamen were to expect no further concessions than what had already been made by the legislature. The naval insurgents, in the view of extorting a compliance with their requisitions, proceeded to block up the mouth of

the Thames, supplying themselves with provisions and water from the ships which they detained in their passage to or from London.* In this critical state of affairs, government, convinced that to yield would only encourage a repetition of similar proceedings, made every disposition for reducing the mutineers to obedience. All intercourse with the shore was strictly prohibited, batteries were erected, gun boats prepared, and all the buoys were removed from the mouth of the Thames, in order to prevent the fleet from proceeding up the river. The mutineers, being apprized of the fixed determination of government, and greatly distressed for want of fresh water, began to discover some symptoms of alarm. Dissension and distrust soon began to prevail among them, and on the 13th of June, several of the ships separated from the mutinous fleet, and, after receiving some broadsides from the others, surrendered themselves at Sheerness. The remainder, discouraged by this defection, submitted to the king's mercy, and the delegates and other ringleaders were immediately committed to prison. The president Parker and several others were tried by

* The French papers, at this period, spoke with great exultation of the revolt of the English fleet, which they stiled "The floating republic."

a court martial and executed. Thus, by the firmness of government, the apprehensions excited by this unprecedented affair were dispelled, and order was restored to the navy.

The subsequent achievements of the British seamen soon wiped off every stain from their character, and procured them additional glory. The same fleet, which had caused so much alarm, sailed under the command of admiral Duncan, to watch the motions of an armament prepared in the Texel. The Dutch fleet, after remaining some time blockaded, at length ventured out, and was attacked by admiral Duncan, who, by a bold manœuvre, cut off its retreat, and obtained a signal victory. The conflict was desperate and bloody; the English had more than seven hundred men killed and wounded; but this was a trifling number when compared with the carnage on board the Dutch fleet.* Nine of their ships of the line and two frigates, with their admiral De Winter and vice-admiral Reijntjies, were taken; and the title of viscount Duncan, of Camperdown, was conferred on the British commander as

* Ten ships of the line were taken; but one of them sunk within sight of the British coast. The Dutch admiral and vice-admiral had 500 men killed on board of their own ships. Belsham's History of Great Britain, 10. p. 278 and 279.

a reward and commemoration of his brilliant achievement.*

By the preliminary treaty of peace signed at Leoben, on the 18th of April, 1797, the emperor had formerly ceded Belgium to the French republic. This cession having removed the grand obstacle to a general pacification, another attempt was made by the British cabinet to negotiate a treaty with France, and lord Malmesbury was a second time sent on this mission. The conferences were held at Lisle. The Cape of Good Hope and the island of Ceylon were now the grand obstacles to peace; and on the refusal of Great Britain to surrender all her conquests made from France and her allies, the negotiation broke off about the middle of September. In the following month the definitive treaty

Oct. 17th.
A. D. 1797. of peace between France and Austria was concluded at Campo Formio; and of all the powers engaged in the confederacy against the French republic, England was left alone to carry on the hopeless contest.

The French having now little employment for their armies, began to talk loudly of the invasion of England. The directory began

* The title of Camperdown was an allusion to that part of the coast of Holland near which the action took place.

to collect on the coasts of the channel a formidable army, to which they gave the pompous appellation of the army of England; and a variety of idle and absurd stories, relative to their preparations, were circulated in this country. The British ministers, however, without being either alarmed by the threats of the enemy, or lulled into a fatal security, took every precaution for the safety of the kingdom.

A. D. 1798. The beginning of the year was occupied in adopting measures for rendering ineffectual the menaces of the enemy. In the course of the hostile preparations, a number of transports had been equipped in the ports of the Batavian republic, and were to come round by the canals to Ostend and Dunkirk, in order to avoid the British cruizers. An expedition was, therefore, fitted out for the purpose of interrupting this internal navigation, and the command was given to Sir Home Popham and major-general Coote, who having landed a body of troops near Ostend, blew up the sluice gates and works of the canal at that place. But the wind, in the mean while, having changed, and the surf running so high as to render their re-embarkation impracticable, the English, amounting to about

May 19th,
A. D. 1798.

twelve hundred in number, were attacked the next morning by a very superior force, and, after a short but obstinate conflict, in which general Coote was severely wounded, were compelled to surrender themselves prisoners.

The directory of France, however, instead of attempting the invasion of England, directed their arms against Egypt, although neither war nor any misunderstanding existed between the republic and the Ottoman Porte. On the 20th of May, general Bonaparte sailed from Toulon, with a fleet of fifteen ships of the line, besides frigates, commanded by admiral Brueys, and accompanied by a number of transports, which being soon after joined by sixty more from Civita Vecchia, the whole army amounted to about forty thousand men, for the most part veterans, who had served in the Italian campaign. On the 3d of June, this mighty armament presented itself before the famous island of Malta, and, without resistance, took possession of those strong and almost impregnable works, which for ages had been considered as a bulwark of christendom, and had withstood the most formidable efforts of the Turks, when in the meridian of their power. After leaving a garrison of four thousand men in Malta, the French armament directed its course for Alexandria. Its desti-

nation now being known, or at least strongly suspected, admiral Nelson pursued them with a fleet of equal force. On his arrival off the mouth of the Nile, he found, to his great surprise, that the enemy had not been seen, and therefore directed his course towards Cyprus and from thence to Sicily. Scarcely was the English fleet out of sight when that of the French appeared, and on the 1st of July cast anchor on the Egyptian coast. General Bonaparte immediately landed his troops, and on the 8th took Alexandria by assault, with a terrible slaughter of the Arabs and Mamelukes. He then proceeded to Rosetta, and, after taking possession of that place, advanced along the banks of the Nile towards Cairo. On the 26th of July was fought the famous battle of the Pyramids, which determined the fate of Egypt. But an event occurred which completely baffled all the schemes of the French government and disappointed the views of the general.*

* It has generally been supposed, that the ultimate design of this expedition was an attack on the British possessions in India. But if we consider that the coasts of the Red Sea are totally destitute of timber—that none can be conveyed to Suez, but by land carriage for the space of sixty miles through a sandy desert—and that a few ships of war can easily blockade the strait of Babel Mandel—the project of proceeding with an army from Egypt to India, appears extremely romantic. See Browne's Trav. in Egypt, and the author's Hist. Europe since the peace of 1783.

Admiral Nelson, after cruizing some time in the Sicilian seas, again returned to the coast of Egypt, and found the French fleet at anchor in the bay of Aboukir, near the mouth of the Nile. He immediately resolved on the attack; and by a bold and skilful manœuvre, succeeded in breaking their line, and separating their fleet. The action commenced a little before sunset: the cannonading was incessant and tremendous. While the victory was yet undecided, admiral Brueys was killed by a cannon ball, and thus expiated, by a glorious death, his rash determination of waiting for the English fleet.* About nine o'clock the *L'Orient*, of 120 guns, the French admiral's ship, took fire, and before ten, blew up with a tremendous explosion, exhibiting a spectacle magnificent and horrific beyond all the powers of description. The battle continued, with short intervals, till day break, when almost all the French ships, after losing most of their officers and great numbers of their men, had struck their colours. Of their whole fleet only two ships of the line and two frigates escaped the general

* Admiral Brueys resolved to wait the arrival of the British fleet, contrary to the advice of Bonaparte, who would have persuaded him to take shelter in Corfu or Malta, according to Belsham, in the harbour of Alexandria, according to Denon, Trav. 1. p. 160.

destruction of this dreadful conflict, which will ever rank in celebrity among the most famous naval engagements fought in any age of the world. The British admiral was honoured by the Grand Seignor with the magnificent present of a superb diamond Chelengh, or plume of triumph, taken from one of the imperial turbans, and a robe of honour of sable fur, besides a purse of two thousand sequins to be distributed among the wounded of his fleet. On his appearance in the bay of Naples, his Sicilian majesty instantly went on board the admiral's ship, attended by a numerous train of barges, with colours and music, while the shore was crowded with spectators. The honours and rewards which he received in his native country were still more flattering and substantial. A pension of two thousand pounds per annum was annexed to the title of Baron Nelson of the Nile, allusive to the scene of his splendid achievement; and his victory was celebrated with great rejoicings in every part of the kingdom.*

This year was fatally distinguished by the Irish rebellion, which had been so long in

* In this battle admiral Nelson was dangerously wounded in the head, which greatly disabled him during the latter part of the action; but his first captain gave full proof that he was animated by the same heroic spirit. *Rebham*, 10. p. 514.

advancing to a state of maturity. Government had fortunately discovered the plans of the conspirators, and seized many of their leaders, among whom were three members of the Irish directory, Mr. Oliver Bond, Dr. M'Nevin, and counsellor Emmet.* Lord Edward Fitzgerald, on being arrested by the police officers, dangerously wounded two of them, and was himself so severely wounded, that he languished only a few days before he expired. He was a nobleman of heroic courage, and of a generous disposition; but he had unfortunately imbibed those romantic notions in politics which are so ill calculated for the practical purposes at which they profess to aim.

The whole body of the conspirators being thrown into confusion and consternation by these events, resolved to relinquish the original plan of waiting for succours from France; and the 23d of May was fixed on for the general insurrection. Government soon procured information of all their designs; and the judicious measures of the lord lieutenant, earl Camden, and his counsel, preserved the city of Dublin from becoming a scene of slaughter and blood. The rising, however,

* These discoveries were made by one of the conspirators.

took place on the appointed day in different parts of the country; and several actions took place in the vicinity of Dublin between the king's troops and parties of the rebels, in which the latter sustained considerable loss. But the grand effort was made in the county of Wexford. On the 28th May, the rebels carried Enniscorthy by assault; and, on the 30th, they made themselves masters of Wexford, the garrison of which surrendered at discretion. Here they liberated from prison Beauchamp Bagnal Harvey, and appointed him commander in chief of their army. On the 5th of June, they attacked New Ross, and Arklow on the 9th; but were repulsed in both places. The circumstances of the rebels now became critical, as general Lake was advancing against them with a strong body of troops. Their grand army, amounting to about twenty thousand men, took an uncommonly strong position on an eminence called Vinegar hill, within a mile of Enniscorthy; and here the operations of the war were in a great measure concentrated. A cordon of troops was gradually collected from different quarters, and almost surrounded the rebel station. On the 21st June, general Lake made his grand attack. The rebels maintained their ground about an

hour and a half with great resolution; but perceiving the danger of being surrounded by the English columns, which advanced up the hill in different directions, they fled with precipitation, and as they were pursued with vigour, and no quarter was given, they sustained an immense loss.

This defeat decided the fate of the war. The rebels were never more able to rally, or to appear in any considerable force in the southern part of the kingdom. In the north, where lord Nugent commanded, the insurrection, though general throughout the countries of Down and Antrim, was soon suppressed, but not without considerable slaughter. Although government had expressed no dissatisfaction at the conduct of earl Camden, the English cabinet judged it expedient to send into Ireland a military lord lieutenant; and an excellent choice was made in the person of the marquis Cornwallis, who, by a judicious and happy mixture of lenity and vigour, soon restored the public tranquillity. Some severe examples were necessary; and several of the principal conspirators were tried, convicted, and executed.* The rebellion being appa-

* Bagnal Harvey, who had been dismissed from the command of the rebel army, after having concealed himself for some time, was discovered, and being tried and convicted, was executed the 26th of June on the bridge of Wexford.

rently quelled, Mr. Oliver Bond, who was under sentence of death, as well as Mr. O'Connor, counsellor Emmet, and the other state prisoners, experienced the mercy of government, and were permitted to retire to any foreign country not at war with Great Britain. A general amnesty, with a few exceptions, was soon after published; and the rebel corps, who had retreated to the mountains of Wexford and Wicklow, laid down their arms. Thus was terminated a dangerous civil war, in which, at least, above twenty thousand persons perished. But, although the ignorant populace had been wrought up to frenzy by the influence and exhortations of a few profligate priests,* it is but justice to say, that the higher descriptions of catholics, whether ecclesiastic or laymen, were in no degree implicated in this atrocious revolt. On the contrary, the twenty-two titular bishops and archbishops, who composed the body of the catholic prelacy, with the chief of the nobility and gentry of that persuasion, published a paper dissuading the people from joining in the rebellion, and exhorting those who were concerned in it to return to their allegiance.

* Among these the most remarkable was father Murphy, who was one of the rebel generals, and being taken prisoner, was most deservedly hanged.

It is worthy of remark, that, while the rebels were in full force, and masters of the field, they received no succours from France, although the directory had positively engaged that an armament should sail for that purpose in April, or, at the farthest, early in May; but, after the insurrection was entirely quelled, and no prospect of success remained, a small French squadron, with eleven hundred troops on board, commanded by general Humbert, cast anchor, on the 22d of August, in the bay of Killala. The troops being landed, took possession of Killala, and were joined by some thousands of the Irish peasantry.* From that place Humbert proceeded to Castlebar, where general Lake was posted with a force far superior; but, before the weakness of the enemy could be ascertained, the English army was suddenly attacked, and compelled to retreat, with the loss of six pieces of cannon, and a considerable number of men.† Castlebar immediately surrendered, and the French moved towards Tuam. Lord Cornwallis now took the field in person; and having collected a large army, general Humbert was obliged to retreat, and entertaining no hope of ultimate success, made a circuitous

* See the bishop of Killala's narrative.

† Ten pieces of cannon, and eight hundred men, according to Belsham, 10. p. 445.

march, in order to afford the Irish, by whom he had been joined, an opportunity of escape.

Sept. 8th,
A. D. 1798.

The lord lieutenant at length came up with the French at Ballinamuck, and after a short action, compelled them to surrender. Such was the result of this ill planned expedition, in which general Humbert displayed an activity, sagacity, and moderation, that shewed him worthy of a more promising command. A second attempt, equally absurd, was soon after made by the French. A squadron from Brest, consisting of one ship of the line, the Hoche, of eighty guns, and eight frigates, having sailed for

Oct. 12th,
A. D. 1798.

Ireland, was totally defeated off the coast of Ulster by Sir John Borlase Warren. The Hoche, after gallantly maintaining an action of five hours, struck her flag: the frigates attempted to escape, but were chased, and six of them captured. Thus terminated the ill concerted projects of the French directory for the conquest of Ireland.

Nov. 15,
A. D. 1798.

In the following month, the island of Minorca was surrendered to general Stuart and commodore Duckworth—an acquisition which was made without the loss of a man. In the course of this year, the British forces evacuated the town of Port-au-Prince, in St. Domingo, with the settlement of St.

Mare, and all its dependencies. Such was the conclusion of those disastrous attempts which had made this island the charnel-house of the British soldiery.*

The victory of Aboukir, which had secured to Great Britain the command of the Mediterranean, and impressed all Europe with the most exalted idea of her naval power, laid the foundation of a new confederacy against France. The unprincipled invasion of Egypt had impelled the grand seignor to declare war against the republic. In the month of November, the preceding year, the king of Naples had again taken arms, and expelled the French from Rome. And the emperor of Russia having concluded a treaty of alliance with Great Britain, and the Ottoman Porte, prepared a formidable army to act against France.† This year concluded with these projects and treaties, and the following spring developed their consequences.

The triumph of his Neapolitan
A. D. 1799. majesty was extremely short. He

* In the space of three years, 12000 soldiers, and 5000 seamen, had fallen victims to that insalubrious climate. Trompess's regiment was, in the space of ten weeks, reduced from 1000 to 300 men. Vide Edward's Hist. West Ind. 3. p. 104.

† The king of Prussia was urged to accede to this treaty of alliance; but persisted in maintaining a strict neutrality. Vide Segur. Hist. Fred. William II. vol. 3. p. 296.

was not only expelled in his turn from Rome, but was also obliged to abandon his own capital, and fly for refuge to Sicily.

Jan. 1st,
A. D. 1799.

The British fleet convoyed his Sicilian majesty to Palermo; and the French became masters of Naples by assault. About the same time, the king of Sardinia was compelled to surrender his continental dominions to France, and retire to the island from which he derives the regal title; and the French were thus left completely masters of Italy. Within a short time, however, the state of affairs in that country was totally changed. The court of Vienna, notwithstanding the treaty of peace concluded at Campoformio, being supported by the alliance of Russia, resolved to renew the war. In the beginning of March, hostilities were recommenced between Austria and France. Before the middle of the following month, a formidable army of Russians, under mareschal Suwarrow, arrived in Italy, and joined the Austrians. A most active and bloody campaign was opened: the conflicts were numerous, and in every rencontre the victory was obstinately contested: the combined Austro-Russian armies were for some time successful; and the French were expelled from all parts of Italy, except the

city and territory of Genoa.* But towards the end of the campaign, the war being transferred from that country to Switzerland, the scales began to turn: the victories of the confederates were succeeded by mournful reverses, and disastrous defeats. The Russians were compelled to retreat with prodigious loss; and the emperor Paul, 'for reasons not fully known, withdrew his forces, and dissolved his connexions with Austria.

In the great plan of military operations concerted by the confederate courts, it was determined that a British armament, aided by twenty thousand Russians, should attempt to rescue Holland from the power of the French; and the duke of York, who had displayed great military talents in the former continental campaigns, was appointed commander in chief on this important occasion. But though it was apparently of the utmost consequence that this expedition should be undertaken at an early season, it was not till the month of June that the preparations began to be made. In the month of August

* Amidst these active scenes of warfare, Rome, once the famous capital of the world, surrendered on the 27th Sept. to the British squadron commanded by commodore Trowbridge: "An event," says Mr. Belsham, "than which, had the awful book of destiny been laid open to the view of the Julian or Augustan age, nothing more calculated to excite amazement could have occurred in all its records." *Hist. of Great Britain*, 11. p. 162.

it was ready to sail; and Sir Ralph Abercrombie embarking with the first division on board admiral Duncan's fleet, proceeded to the Batavian coast, and landed his Aug. 27th,
A. D. 1799. troops near the Helder point, at the mouth of the Texel. Here they were soon attacked by the Dutch under general Dædals, and a sharp action ensued, in which the English lost five hundred men; but the enemy were repulsed, and in the evening abandoned the fort. Three days afterwards, the Dutch fleet in the Texel, on being summoned by vice-admiral Mitchell to surrender to the prince of Orange, complied without resistance. On the 10th September, the French and Batavians, commanded by general Brune, attacked the British intrenchments, but were repulsed, and compelled to retire to Alkmaer. On the 13th, the duke of York arrived with the second division, and took the command of the whole army, which being joined by the Russian auxiliaries under generals Herman and Essen, amounted to forty-five thousand men. On the 19th, the combined Anglo-Russian army made an attack on the lines of general Brune before Alkmaer. But the Russians advancing too far, general Essen was wounded, and general Herman made prisoner, and the column was

defeated with great slaughter. The English, in the mean while, had compelled the right wing of the Batavian army to retreat; but the total discomfiture of the Russians obliged the duke of York to withdraw his left, and both armies resumed their former positions. This action cost the allies not less than two thousand five hundred men; but the loss fell chiefly on the Russians. From the day of this battle, both armies remained inactive till the 2d of October, when his royal highness resolved on another general attack. After an obstinate contest, the French and Batavian army was broken; but the English and Russians purchased the victory with the loss of above two thousand men: general Brune retired towards Hærlém; and the next morning the British troops took possession of Alkmaer. On the 6th of October, another general action took place, and, according to the official accounts, the allies remained masters of the field of battle.* This advantage, however, was obtained with the loss of more than two thousand five

* The French accounts, on the contrary, say that general Brune, who greatly distinguished himself by his personal exertions, and had two horses killed under him, charging at the head of his cavalry, broke the line of the English and Russians, and drove them from their position. See the different Paris papers of that period.

hundred men killed, wounded, and prisoners. The situation of the invaders was now becoming daily more critical. General Brune, who had received a reinforcement of 6000 infantry, occupied a strong position. And the state of the weather, the badness of the roads, and the approach of winter, presented insurmountable obstacles to the success of the British expedition. In consequence of so many unfavourable circumstances, the English and Russians evacuated their advanced posts, and concentrated their whole force at the Helder. A negotiation soon after took place, and the hostile commanders signed a convention, of which the principal articles were, that the combined British and Russian army should, before the 30th November, re-embark without committing any devastations by inundations, cutting the dikes, or injuring the sources of navigation; that the batteries taken possession of at the Helder, and other positions, with their artillery, should be left in the state in which they were taken, or in their present state, in case of improvement; and that eight thousand French and Batavian prisoners taken in former campaigns,*

* For a detailed, but somewhat sarcastic account of this expedition, see Belsham's *Hist. G. Britain*, 11. p. 168, &c.

should be restored, without conditions, to their respective countries. Thus terminated this memorable expedition, in which the hope of success appears to have been chiefly founded on an erroneous estimate of the disposition of the Dutch, who were supposed to be ready to join the invaders, and shake off the yoke of France. It cannot be denied that the duke of York, in all his operations, displayed great abilities; but a number of circumstances rendered the conquest of Holland impracticable. The failure of this attempt was in some measure compensated by the acquisition of Surinam, the most valuable of the Dutch transatlantic colonies, which surrendered in the month of August to lord Hugh Seymour, without making any resistance.

This year is distinguished in the British annals by a glorious war, and a valuable conquest; in a distant quarter of the globe. Ever since the peace of Seringapatam, in 1792, dictated by lord Cornwallis, Tippoo Saib, sultan of Mysore, had harboured a secret and violent animosity against the English, and cherished the delusive hope, and dangerous project, of reinstating himself in his former greatness. In pursuance of these views, he had, during some years, been occupied in

forming, with the king of Candahar,* and the French republic, a confederacy which had for its object the expulsion of the English from India; and Bonaparte's invasion of Egypt is supposed to have been connected with the general plan of operations for subverting the British power in the east. The intrigues of the sultan being fully discovered, the earl of Mornington, governor-general of Bengal, remonstrated against the impropriety of his conduct. Tippoo, in return, positively denied the charge, expressing the greatest aversion to the French, and the most inviolable attachment to the English. His whole correspondence with the earl of Mornington, when compared with that which he carried on with Zemaun Shah, king of Candahar, and the French governor of Mauritius, exhibits a tissue of perfidy and dissimulation which cannot be surpassed by any example recorded in the annals of political duplicity. The governor-general conceiving no hope from negotiation, prepared for war; and finding that Tippoo only sought to gain time, resolved to commence hostilities. A well appointed army,

* Candahar is a kingdom founded out of the fragments of the Persian and Mogul empires, by Achmet Abdallah, an Afghan chief, during the confusion that prevailed after the death of Nadir Shah. Candahar is situated between Persia and India, comprising a part of both, and is now very powerful.

commanded by officers of great courage, skill, and experience, was assembled under general Harris, who, being joined by the troops of the Nizam, began his march towards the eastern frontier of Mysore. General Stuart, who commanded the Bombay army, advanced from Cannanore through the country of the Mahrattas. And, on the 22d February, 1790, the governor-general issued a declaration, exhibiting his reasons for commencing the war.

The conduct of Tippoo Saib in this war, was not such as might have been expected from his former reputation. But it must be considered, that the decision of the governor-general had defeated his plans: the suddenness of the attack had deprived him of the chance of receiving any aid from distant allies, and he could not hope, with his own resources, to make any effectual resistance against the British force. Having passed his own frontier, he attacked, on the 6th of March, a detachment of the Bombay army, under general Stuart; but he received a severe repulse, and made a precipitate retreat. After this inauspicious commencement, he remained some days in his camp, and then put his army in motion to meet general Harris, who was rapidly advancing into the heart of his dominions. On the 27th of March, an action

took place, in which general Harris was completely victorious; and the sultan making no further attempt to keep the field, shut himself up in his capital. On the 3d of April, general Harris came within sight of Seringapatam, and, on the 14th, the Bombay army arriving, the city was completely invested. Tippoo now attempted by negotiation to avoid the destruction with which he was threatened. But the British commander requiring, as conditions of peace, the cession of half his dominions, the payment of two crores of rupees, by way of indemnification, for the expences of the war, the renouncing of all connexion with the French, and the delivery of hostages for the execution of the treaty, the negotiation broke off, and the sultan appeared to have adopted the desperate resolution of burying himself under the ruins of his capital. On the 30th of April, the batteries were opened, and on the 3d of May, in the evening, their fire had effected a practicable breach in the wall. Orders were given for a general assault the next day, and it was resolved to make the attempt a little after noon, when it would be least expected by the garrison. In the morning of the 4th of May, the troops were stationed in the trenches, that no extraordi-

nary movement might alarm the enemy. At one in the afternoon, the troops under general Baird crossed the rocky bed of the Caverry, and carried the city by assault, in spite of every obstacle that could be opposed to their progress; and the palace soon after surrendered. Tippoo Sultan fell in the assault, and his body being found, was honourably interred in the mausoleum of his father. His family was soon after removed to Vellore, and an ample revenue was allowed for their maintenance. A descendant of the Hindoo Rajahs of Mysore was placed on the throne of that kingdom, from which his family had been expelled by Hyder Ally's usurpation. The rest of the Sultan's dominions were divided between the British, the Nizam, and the Mahrattas.* Justice was thus united with policy. The world was freed from a tyrant, and a valuable acquisition was added to the British empire in India. In fine, this is one of the very few wars which the philosophical historian can regard with complacency, and consider as beneficial to mankind.

In the early part of this year, a British subject, the brave Sir Sidney Smith, acquired

* The city of Seringapatam was included in the British share of the division, and now constitutes one of the most valuable possessions of the East India company.

immortal glory both for himself and his country, by his memorable defence of Acre,—a name which revives the romantic and chivalrous ideas of the twelfth century. General Bonaparte having completed the conquest of Egypt, made an impetuous irruption into Syria. After taking possession of Gaza, which the enemy abandoned at his approach, he carried Jaffa, the ancient Joppa, by assault, and put the greatest part of the garrison to the sword. He then proceeded to Acre, and on the 19th of March commenced the siege. But Sir Sidney Smith, who commanded a squadron in these parts, fell in with and captured the flotilla which was bringing the battering artillery from Alexandria. The cannon and stores were immediately landed from the flotilla, and employed in the defence of those walls which they had been designed to destroy. The presence of the British commander diffused a heroic spirit through the garrison: the marines of his squadron served all the batteries, and led every sortie. During the space of sixty days Bonaparte persevered in his attempt, and made so many and so desperate assaults, that, to use the words of Sir Sidney,* “It was impossible to see the lives

* See Sir Sidney Smith's dispatch, dated May 2, 1799.

“even of enemies thus sacrificed, and so much
“bravery misapplied, without regret.” At
length, after the assaults and sorties had for
some time been daily repeated, and the siege
had resembled a continued battle, the French
general retired on the 20th May from the
fatal walls of Acre, and returned to Egypt.

France, in the mean while, was agitated
with civil dissensions, which threatened the
most disagreeable results, and the whole na-
tion felt the necessity of establishing a new
and better order of things. For this purpose,
a plan appears to have been concerted by
Abbé Sieyès, and a few other persons, and
communicated to general Bonaparte, who
immediately appointed general Kleber to the
command of the army during his absence,
and departed from Egypt, in order to act a
new part on a still more conspicuous theatre.
Being attended by his usual good fortune, he
reached France without meeting with any
part of the English fleet, and immediately
proceeded to Paris. Finding himself sur-
rounded with difficulties, and in a state of
uncertainty amidst the jarring factions of the
metropolis, he adopted the most prompt and
vigorous measures. Urged on by ambition,
he severed with his sword the Gordian knot,
and, by the aid of the military, overturned

Nov. 9th,
A. D. 1799. the directorial government. A new constitution was formed. The executive power was vested in three consuls, Bonaparte, Sieyes, and Roger Ducos; but its exercise was almost wholly confided to Bonaparte, who was distinguished by the title of first consul, as a mark of pre-eminence. Bonaparte having thus taken upon himself an immense responsibility, by seizing with a firm and daring hand the slackened reins of the state, endeavoured to render his government popular. In this view, he commenced his functions by addressing to

Dated
Dec. 25th,
A. D. 1799. his Britannic majesty a letter, expressing his desire of a general pacification. But his majesty not considering the new government of France as sufficiently confirmed to give stability to treaties, declined entering into any negotiation, till time and experience should prove the propriety of such a measure.*

A. D. 1800. The first consul had made a similar proposal to the imperial cabinet; but meeting with no better success at Vienna than at London, he made the most active and vigorous preparations for the ensuing campaign. Taking the field in person, his opera-

* Official note of Lord Grenville to M. Talleyrand, dated January 4th, 1800.

tions exhibited an astonishing display of military skill, and were attended with the most brilliant success. The emperor of Russia had entirely withdrawn from the coalition. The court of Vienna was left to its own efforts;

June 14th,
A. D. 1800.

and the decisive victory which the first consul obtained over the Austrians at Marengo, rendered the French a second time masters of Italy. The successes of general Moreau, in Germany, were not less important. The loss of the battle of Hohen-

Dec. 3d,
A. D. 1800.

linden again laid the road to Vienna open to the French; and the campaign concluded with a convention, which was soon after followed by a treaty of peace.

As the fleets of the enemy, unable to contend with those of Great Britain, remained shut up in their ports, this year was not marked by any great naval transactions. The French island of Gorée, on the African coast, surrendered to the English without making any attempt at resistance. And the inhabitants of the island of Curacoa, in the West Indies, belonging to the Batavian republic, voluntarily placed themselves under his Britannic majesty's protection. But the most important event of the naval campaign was the reduction of Malta, which, after being blockaded two years by the British fleets, was

compelled, by famine alone, to surrender. On the 5th of September, 1800, the capitulation was signed, and Great Britain obtained possession of this celebrated island, which has since proved the box of Pandora to Europe. This year was also distinguished by the union of Great Britain and Ireland, which was at length effected after the measure had been discussed in the parliaments of both kingdoms. At the close of the year, the appearance of a new storm began to darken the political horizon of Britain. The emperor of Russia formed a league with Sweden and Denmark, in order to maintain what they called the independence of the seas against the pretensions of the British to the right of searching neutral vessels.* Thus was England not only left without any allies, except such as could afford no assistance, but she had also the mortification of seeing some of her former friends become her avowed enemies.†

A. D. 1801. The next year began with the opening of the first imperial parliament, and with an almost total change in the

* This convention, to which the king of Prussia also acceded, was signed at Petersburg on the 16th December, 1800.

† On the 15th May, 1800, a horrid attempt was made on the life of the king by a man named James Hadfield, who fired a pistol at his majesty as he entered his box at the theatre. The delinquent being seized, and brought to trial, was found to be insane, and was consequently placed in the hospital for lunatics.

ministry. After an administration of seventeen years, Mr. Pitt, seeing himself unable to effect the complete emancipation of the Irish catholics, which was one of his favourite objects, gave in his resignation, which was followed by most of his colleagues. Mr. Addington was appointed first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer; but the king being seized with an indisposition which prevented his attending to public affairs, the old ministers continued in the exercise of their functions till the month of March, when his Majesty was, to the great joy of his subjects, completely restored to health.

Never did affairs wear a more gloomy aspect than at this period.* England, being engaged in hostilities with France, Spain, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and Russia, had need of all her resources to oppose this host of confederate enemies. The military views of the British government were directed to two important objects, the dissolution of the northern confederacy, and the expulsion of the French from Egypt. Lord Nelson and Sir Hyde Parker, with a fleet of seventeen ships of the line, three frigates, and about twenty bomb

* The treaty of Luneville, which restored peace between Austria and France, was concluded February 9th, 1801.

ketches, gun boats, &c. being dispatched to the Baltic, made a tremendous attack on the

April 2d,
A. D. 1801. Danish fleet at Copenhagen. The Danes had made the most judicious disposition of their force, and fought with the most determined bravery. The action, which continued four hours, was dreadfully bloody and destructive. The English fleet being terribly shattered, and that of the Danes almost totally disabled, Lord Nelson proposed a suspension of hostilities, which was joyfully accepted, and an armistice put an end to this work of destruction. In the mean while an event had taken place at Petersburg, which, had it been sooner known, would, doubtless, have prevented this bloody transaction at Copenhagen. The emperor Paul suddenly expired in the night of the 23d March. His son and successor, Alexander, desirous of terminating a dispute so hostile to the commercial interests of his empire, immediately concluded a treaty of peace with Great Britain, to which Sweden and Denmark acceded.

While the flag of Great Britain was triumphant in the Baltic, her standard was displayed with glory on the banks of the Nile. As the possession of Egypt by the French was

deemed incompatible with the security of the British empire in India, an armament was sent out from England in order to effect their expulsion. Admiral lord Keith and general Sir Ralph Abercrombie had the command of this expedition. The land forces consisted of sixteen thousand men, with whom a body of troops from India was to co-operate by the way of the Red Sea. On the 1st March the fleet came in sight of Alexandria, and on the 8th the army effected a landing, though exposed to a heavy fire of grape shot and musketry. On the 13th the English attacked a division of the French which was posted on a ridge, their right extending towards the canal of Alexandria, and their left to the sea. After a severe conflict victory declared in favour of the English, and the French retired to the fortified heights in front of the city. On the 21st March was fought, at the distance of about three miles from Alexandria, that memorable battle, which, in a great measure, determined the fate of Egypt. The two armies were nearly equal in numbers, each consisting of about thirteen thousand men: The action began before day light, when the French, commanded by general Menou, quitting their strong defensive position, made a

general attack on the British camp.* The conflict was obstinate and bloody, but the English were completely victorious, with the loss of nearly two thousand men, that of the French being almost double the number. A particular corps, which from its heroic conduct in the Italian campaigns, was distinguished by the name of the "invincible legion," was almost wholly cut off in a close engagement with the Highlanders and the whole brigade, and their celebrated standard being taken† was considered as a glorious monument of this memorable victory. But the triumph of the British army received a melancholy tinge from the loss of its brave commander, Sir Ralph Abercrombie, who, although mortally wounded in the thigh, did not retire from the field till the victory was decided, and expired on board the *Foudroyant* on the 28th March, terminating, by a glorious death, a life dignified by every military talent and every social virtue.

* Sir R. Wilson, who owns that the dispositions of general Menou were excellent, considers him as guilty of a great error in descending from his strong position to attack the English army, which, from its situation, must soon have begun offensive operations under great disadvantages. See Sir R. Wilson's *Expedition to Egypt*, p. 39, &c.

† Sir R. Wilson says, that the invincible standard was taken by Anthony Luz, a native of Alsace, and a private of the regiment of Minorca. *Expedition to Egypt*, ubi supra.

The command of the army now devolved on general Hutchinson, who shewed himself in every respect worthy of his illustrious predecessor, and prosecuted the war with equal ability and vigour. His first object appears to have been the reduction of Alexandria;* but afterwards changing his plan of operations, he resolved to proceed towards Cairo, in order to secure a junction with the army of the Grand Vizier, who was advancing from Syria. From the battle of Alexandria on the 21st March, this Egyptian campaign exhibits an uninterrupted series of successes. On the 19th of April Rosetta surrendered, and on the 9th of May the French abandoned the important post of Rhamanieh. On the 10th of June colonel Loyd, with a corps of troops from Bombay, having crossed the desert from Suez, arrived at the camp of the Grand Vizier. On the 21st general Hutchinson and the Grand Vizier took their positions in the vicinity of Cairo. The French general Belliard seeing the city completely invested by the British and Ottoman forces, and dissensions prevailing among his troops, immediately desired to capitulate; a convention was agreed on, stipu-

* In order to facilitate the siege of Alexandria, it was deemed expedient to cut through the canal, and let the waters of the sea into the lake of Marcotis. Sir R. Wilson, p. 54, &c.

lating that the army in Cairo, which, including Greeks, Cophts, and Mamalukes, amounted to 13,672 men, should, with all the private property of the officers and soldiers, be conveyed, in the ships of the allies, and at their expence, to the nearest French ports, and that general Menou should be at liberty to avail himself of these conditions for the evacuation of Alexandria.

In the mean while general Baird, with the armament from India, arrived in the Red Sea, and was joined by a detachment from the Cape of Good Hope. Being informed of the state of affairs, he landed his troops on the 8th of June at Cossir, and crossed the desert to Kinneh, where he arrived on the 30th and afterwards proceeded to join the grand army.* The campaign was now drawing towards its conclusion. General Menou refusing to accede to the convention of Cairo, the combined British and Ottoman armies commenced, on the 17th of August, the siege of Alexandria. The garrison consisted of more than ten thousand men, French, Greeks, Syrians, &c. the works were defended by three hundred

* The distance from Cosir to Kinneh, across the desert of Thebais, is about 120 miles. For a circumstantial relation of the march of general Baird's army, see Sir R. Wilson's *Expedition to Egypt*, p. 167, &c. For a description of the desert and of the town of Cosir, see Denon's *Travels*, 2. p. 343, &c. and Browne's *Travels*, p. 154, &c.

and twelve pieces of cannon, and general Menou had declared, in his official dispatches, that he would never capitulate at Alexandria, but would bury himself under the ruins of the city.* Perceiving, however, the impossibility of obtaining any succours from Europe, without which all his efforts for defence must have been ineffectual, the French general, notwithstanding his boasting declarations, held out only till the 27th of August, when he requested an armistice, and on the 2d of Sept. he agreed to surrender on the conditions stipulated by the convention of Cairo.†. Thus was completed, within the space of six months, the conquest of Egypt, which so greatly increased the military reputation of Great Britain, and entirely defeated the views of the French government respecting that part of the globe.

The maritime war produced, in the course of this year, only few remarkable events. On the 12th July, Sir James Saumarez, a naval

* General Regnier's *State of Egypt* after the battle of Heliopolis, p. 334.

† General Regnier severely censures the conduct of general Menou during the whole of this campaign, for not sufficiently concentrating his force, and suffering himself to be beaten in detail: "*State of Egypt*," p. 233, 275, &c. It must, however, be observed, that general Regnier's work is replete with spleen and misrepresentation. Sir R. Wilson justifies, on military principles, the conduct of general Menou, at least in regard to the surrender of Alexandria. *Hist. Exped. to Egypt*.

commander of distinguished bravery, obtained an important victory over a combined French and Spanish squadron. Two of the largest Spanish ships of the line took fire, and blew up, and one of seventy-four guns was captured. As the action took place in the night, the rest escaped, in a most shattered condition, to Cadiz. An expedition, sent out in the month of August, under admiral Nelson, for the purpose of destroying the French flotilla in the port of Boulogne, proved unsuccessful. But, in the course of the summer, the Danish islands of St. Thomas and Santa Cruz, the French island of St. Martin, and the Swedish island of St. Bartholomew, were taken possession of by the English; and, in the East Indies, the Dutch island of Ternate, after an obstinate resistance of fifty-two days, was reduced by the arms of the East India Company.

During the operations of a most active campaign, and amidst the most formidable preparations for the continuance of war, the paternal care of his Britannic majesty was employed in restoring to his subjects the blessings of peace.* Negotiations had been

* His majesty's pacific intentions, were first communicated to the French government, on the 21st of March, in a note addressed by lord Hawkesbury to M. Otto.

carried on for more than six months; and, at length, the preliminaries of a general pacification were signed at London, by lord Hawkesbury on the part of his Britannic majesty, and by M. Otto on the part of the French republic; to which the respective allies of the two powers acceded. Great Britain agreed to the restoration of all her conquests, except the islands of Trinidad and Ceylon. The Cape of Good Hope was to remain a free port. Malta was to be restored to the knights; and Egypt to the Ottoman Porte. Portugal was to remain in its integrity: the French were to evacuate Rome and Naples; and the Newfoundland fishery was to be replaced on its former footing. Thus terminated the most important contest that had occurred in Europe since the establishment of its existing governments.

The nations of Europe, which had so long been harassed by a ruinous war, joyfully hailed the return of peace; and the definitive treaty was concluded at Amiens after a train of intricate negotiations. Thus was at length re-established, the general tranquillity of Europe; but the measures of the first consul were not calculated to authorize a hope of its permanency. His encroachments on the con-

Oct. 1st,
A. D. 1801.

A. D. 1802.

March 25th,
A. D. 1802.

continent* seemed, indeed, to be regarded with indifference by the great powers of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, as they were not the immediate sufferers: the weaker states might tremble, but durst not complain; but the restrictions imposed on British commerce by the French government too plainly indicated that the peace could not be of long duration. The newspaper writers, and pamphleteers, both in England and France, contributed, in no small degree, to keep alive the animosity which had too long subsisted between the two nations. Some of those published in London had given great umbrage to the first consul, who had remonstrated on the subject. But the misrepresentations and scurrilities which they contained, were equalled by those that were daily to be found in the *Moniteur*, and other public papers of Paris.† The British government, however, offered the first consul all the satisfaction that was consistent with the laws of the kingdom, and the freedom of the press. The year was spent in these altercations, which soon gave way to more serious

* For the particulars see the author's General History of Europe, two vols. 8vo.

† The papers which gave the greatest disgust to the first consul were, the *Courier Francoise*, and the *Ambigu*, published in the French language at London. See a detailed account of these matters in the author's General History of Europe.

discussions. Various circumstances indicated that France had not yet relinquished her views on Egypt, and, consequently, that the renewal of hostilities was not far distant. This state of things indicated to Great Britain the necessity of providing for her own security. The British government had, in strict conformity with the treaty of Amiens, restored all her conquests, with the single exception of Malta. But, since the conclusion of the treaty, circumstances had arisen which rendered the restoration of that island to the knights of St. John incompatible with the interests of Great Britain, without some previous arrangements; as such a measure would have been equivalent to throwing it into the hands of the first consul of France, who might seize on it at his pleasure.* This intricate and unforeseen affair gave rise to a long train of discussion, of which the result plunged Europe a second time into all the calamities from which she had so lately emerged, and effected a total revolution in her political system.

A. D. 1803. About the end of February, the negotiations broke off: the British ambassador, lord Whitworth, returned from

* The affair of Malta, and the negotiations which took place during this and the subsequent year, will be found amply treated in the author's General Hist. of Europe, above mentioned.

Paris; and both nations prepared for war. The first consul of France immediately ordered the arrest and detention of all British subjects in the territories of the French and Batavian republics—a measure unprecedented in the history of modern Europe. At the same time, a French army, under general Mortier, took possession of Hanover; and by occupying the banks of the Elbe and the Weser, excluded the English from the commerce of the interior of Germany; in consequence of which, a fleet was sent from England to blockade the mouths of those rivers.

The invasion of England was avowedly the grand object of the first consul; and immense preparations were made for that purpose in the ports of the French and Batavian republics. The British government, at the same time, adopted the most judicious measures for repelling the threatened attack. An income tax was established to support the extraordinary expenditure required at this critical period. The army and navy were put on the most formidable footing. An act was passed which ordered the "*levee en masse*," in case of necessity. The loyalty and spirit of the people seconding the views of the government: numerous volunteer companies were formed in every part of the kingdom; and Great

Britain, at this momentous and menacing crisis, exhibited a scene of patriotic ardour scarcely ever equalled by Greece or Rome in the most brilliant periods of their history.*

But, although loyalty and unanimity prevailed throughout every part of Great Britain, the case was different in Ireland. A conspiracy, which manifested itself in Dublin, produced the most horrid atrocities, and threatened the most dangerous consequences. The lord chief justice Kilwarden, a nobleman whose public and private life had displayed all the virtues that exalt the human character, was, with his nephew, the Rev. A. Wolfe, dragged ^{July 23d,} _{A. D. 1803.} from his carriage, and murdered in the street, and the city was converted into a theatre of confusion and slaughter. At length, by the activity and promptitude of government and the military, this dangerous insurrection was suppressed before it produced any further effects. This, like the former insurrection, appears to have been chiefly confined to the lower orders of the people, led on by a few restless desperadoes. The respectable class of Roman catholics, with the earl of Fingal at their head, came forward in the

* In the month of June, the islands of St. Lucia and Tobago were taken by the English under general Griffin. St. Pierre and Miquelon, near the coast of Newfoundland, were also captured.

most loyal manner, expressing the greatest detestation of these rebellious proceedings, and offering to government their utmost assistance. Dr. Troy, the catholic archbishop of Dublin, also published, and ordered to be read in the chapels of his diocese, a loyal and affectionate address to the catholics, exhorting them to regularity and peace. At length, by the exertions of government, and of loyal individuals, the flames of rebellion were extinguished; and several of the chiefs being taken, received the just reward of their crimes.*

A. D. 1804. At the commencement of the year, the preparations for invasion, and those for resistance, were nearly completed. The disposable force of France was about five hundred thousand men; and the military strength of Great Britain and Ireland, including the militia, volunteers, and army of reserve, was not greatly inferior. The British navy, consisting of a hundred and eighty-nine ships of the line, besides frigates, &c. commanded the ocean, and blockaded the enemy's ports.† Never, at any former period, had Great Britain presented, by land and by sea, so formidable an appearance.

* See a detailed account of these transactions in the author's *Gen. Hist. of Europe*, vol. 9. chap. 5.

† The number of seamen and marines, 100,000: expenditure of the navy, £11,000,190.

This period of tremendous preparations was remarkably barren of warlike transactions, as the ports of the enemy were closely blockaded, and his menacing flotillas dared not to stir beyond the reach of their batteries. The island of Goree was taken in the beginning of the year by the French, and soon after retaken by the English. But the courage and conduct of captain, afterwards Sir Nathaniel Dance, is worthy of particular commemoration. Admiral Linois, who had taken several of the East India Company's ships, and plundered the settlement of Bencoolen, fell in with the homeward bound fleet from China, consisting of fifteen of the company's ships, and eleven country vessels, the capture or destruction of which would have been a severe blow to the British commerce. The French commander prepared for the attack; but captain Dance, who acted as commodore on this occasion, instantly bore down on his line in close order of battle, and with his fleet of merchantmen, put the hostile squadron to flight.* By this bold measure, captain Dance preserved property, to the amount of a million and a half, from the gripe of the enemy, and gained for himself immortal renown. So im-

* This bold action was performed in the Indian seas on the 15th of February, 1804.

portant a service was not left unrewarded: he received from his sovereign the honour of knighthood; and the East India Company made liberal presents to the commanders of the ships, and their crews.

While England, in a state of bold defiance, was waiting for the threatened invasion, some events of an extraordinary nature took place on the continent. In the month of February, a conspiracy was formed by the famous general Pichegru,* Georges, and several others, against the first consul of France. General Moreau was also accused of being concerned in the affair. The conspirators, being by some means betrayed, were arrested at Paris before they could carry their scheme into execution. This was followed by the tragical death of the Duc d'Enghien, who was seized on the 19th of March, in the neutral territory of Baden, by a corps of French cavalry, and being conducted to Paris, was tried by a military tribunal on the night of his arrival, and immediately shot, leaving the world to deplore the fate of a beloved and accomplished young prince, without being able to discover his crime.

* Pichegru died in prison, by what means is unknown. Georges was executed, Moreau was permitted to retire to America.

In the month of May certain political changes took place which had no small influence on the destinies of Europe. Mr. Addington, whose administration had been both beneficial and glorious to his country, resigned his offices, to which Mr. Pitt was a

May 11th,
A. D. 1804. second time appointed, and the right honourable W. Dundas was

made secretary of state for the war department. But a much more important revolution took place in the government of France, which, like that of ancient Rome, was changed from a republic to a military monarchy. By a decree of the tribunate, and an "*organic senatus consultum*," the first consul, Napoleon

May 18th,
A. D. 1804, Bonaparte, was declared emperor of the French, and the imperial dignity was made hereditary in his family. That nothing might be wanting to add lustre to his accession, the Pope was summoned to Paris to perform the ceremony of his coronation. And on the 2d of December Napoleon was anointed and crowned emperor of the French by Pius VII. with great solemnity, in the cathedral of Notre Dame. Thus did this great aspirer succeed in raising himself to an elevation which neither Cæsar nor Cromwell durst venture to ascend.

Before the close of the year Great Britain

was obliged to prepare for war against a new enemy. Spain having bound herself, by a treaty, to furnish the French republic with fifteen ships of the line and twenty-four thousand men, had given his Britannic majesty just cause of complaint. Remonstrances had been made on the subject to his catholic majesty, without obtaining any thing more than vague and unsatisfactory professions; and the British government, perceiving that the intention of the court of Madrid was only to gain time, till the arrival of the treasure ships from America, resolved on the immediate commencement of hostilities. Commodore Moore, with four frigates, fell in with a Spanish squadron of the same number off Cadiz; and a sharp action took place, in which one of the Spanish ships blew up, and all on board perished: the three others were captured, and proved rich prizes, being chiefly freighted with dollars. The court of Madrid

Dec. 14th,
A. D. 1804. immediately declared war against England, and Spain was thus involved in the contest which soon after convulsed all Europe.

A. D. 1805. The year that is now to pass in review, commenced with an overture of peace from the newly created emperor of the French, who might reasonably expect

that an ostensible effort to relieve his subjects from a burdensome war, would increase his popularity, and tend to confirm his power.

Jan. 7th,
A. D. 1805. He therefore addressed a letter to the king of Great Britain, expressing a desire for the termination of the contest, and the establishment of a permanent peace. To this overture his majesty returned for answer, that there was no object which he had more at heart than to procure for his subjects the blessings of peace, founded on such a basis as would be consistent with the security and interests of his dominions; but, that as these objects were closely connected with the general security, his majesty declined entering into any particular explanations without previous communication with his allies.

The blockade of the French ports, though still continued, proved, in some instances, ineffectual. A squadron of five ships of the line having stole out from Rochfort, made its appearance in the West Indies, levied large contributions in the islands of Dominica and St. Christophers, and, after capturing many British vessels, returned in safety to France. But an armament of far greater magnitude sailed soon after from Toulon. This

March 30,
A. D. 1805. fleet, commanded by admiral Ville-

neuve, consisted of eleven sail of the line, with a number of frigates and corvettes, having ten thousand land forces on board. Having proceeded to Cadiz he was reinforced by a Spanish fleet of six ships of the line and a number of frigates, under admiral Gravina, the British squadron, employed to blockade that port, being too weak to prevent the junction. The combined fleets immediately stood out to sea with a strong easterly wind, and before night were out of sight of Cadiz.

The scene which now opens is distinguished by transactions that will be held in eternal remembrance. Admiral Nelson, who was cruising in the Mediterranean, was no sooner informed of the Toulon fleet having sailed, than he supposed its destination to be for Egypt, and immediately began a pursuit the most remarkable that ever marked the annals of naval war. After visiting Sicily and Malta he arrived at the mouth of the Nile, the scene of his former glory. Not learning any thing of the hostile fleet, he retraced his course back to Sicily; but after cruising off that island till the middle of April, he discovered the fallacy of his conjectures, and was strongly persuaded that the enemy had sailed for the West Indies. He therefore directed his course for that quarter; and, after passing the Straits

of Gibraltar, he received certain information on the subject. He then proceeded across the Atlantic to Barbadoes and then to Trinidad, and pursuing the enemy from island to island through the whole extent of the West Indian seas, prevented them from making an attack on any of the British possessions. The French admiral, having received intelligence of Nelson's arrival in those seas, immediately returned to Europe, being still pursued by the English. The combined fleets, however, were met with, off Ferrol, by Sir R. Calder, who was cruising for that purpose, with fifteen ships of the line. The enemy had not less than twenty sail of the line; but notwithstanding this disparity of force, the British commander did not hesitate a moment in bringing them to action. The unequal contest terminated with the capture of two Spanish ships of the line, and had not the foggy weather and their distance to the windward enabled the rest of the fleet to escape to Vigo, the victory would have been complete. About a week after this affair lord Nelson returned from his chase of the combined fleets, and resumed his station off Cape St. Vincent, just sixty-three days after his departure for the West Indies, having, in the short space of four

July 29th,
A. D. 1805.

months, explored the whole length of the Mediterranean, and twice crossed the Atlantic. The combined fleets having been reinforced by the squadrons of admirals Grandallana and Gourdon, their number was augmented to thirty-four sail of the line, and with this formidable armament admiral Villeneuve entered the harbour of Cadiz.

Lord Nelson being appointed to the station where he was destined to finish his glorious career, disposed his fleet in such a manner as appeared the best calculated for enticing the enemy out of port. At length, seven sail of the line having been sent to Tetuan for provisions and necessaries, the enemy being apprized of the circumstance, and supposing that the British fleet was now reduced to about twenty sail of the line, ventured out to sea. Admiral Nelson immediately bore away for the Straits; and, at length, about daylight

Monday,
Oct. 21st,
A. D. 1805. on the second morning after their sailing, the combined fleets were discovered six or seven miles to the eastward. Their force consisted of thirty-three ships of the line, of which eighteen were French and fifteen were Spanish. Admiral Villeneuve, who did not appear to decline the engagement, evinced great judgment and skill in the disposition of his fleet, which was drawn

up in a close and compact double line of battle, forming a crescent, convexing to the leeward. The plan of attack having been previously communicated to the officers, few signals were necessary, and the British fleet advanced in two columns, one led by lord Nelson, in the *Victory*, the other by vice-admiral Collingwood, in the *Royal Sovereign*, while the enemy, with great firmness and resolution, waited their approach. About noon, the action commenced by the leading ships of the columns breaking through the enemy's line. Both the French and the Spaniards displayed a degree of courage and skill that did them great honour. But the attack proved irresistible. About three in the afternoon, several of the enemy's ships having struck, their line gave way. But about the middle of the action, as lord Nelson was walking the quarter-deck, he was wounded by a musket shot in his left breast, and, in the space of an hour, expired. The closing scene of his brilliant career corresponded with his former exploits: his fame will be immortal, and his life a pattern for future commanders. In consequence of the wound of lord Nelson, admiral Collingwood took the command, and by gloriously completing the victory, shewed himself not unworthy of

his illustrious predecessor. Of the combined fleets, nineteen sail of the line were captured;* and the commander in chief, admiral Villeneuve, with two Spanish admirals, were among the prisoners. After the work of destruction and carnage was finished, the British commander, and the governor of Cadiz, generously vied with each other in affording every possible relief to their wounded enemies, and, amidst the sanguinary scenes of war, displayed an example of humanity which history must delight to record. Patriotism will also contemplate with pleasure the reward of martial merit. The naval hero was gone to receive in the regions of immortality that recompence which this world cannot bestow; but his funeral was solemnized with the greatest magnificence, and at the public expence; and royal and national munificence conferred marks of honour and distinction on his family.† His companions in arms, the partakers of his toils and his triumphs, also shared in those tokens of national gratitude,‡

* Admiral Collingwood's dispatches, dated Oct. 22. *Lond. Gazette.*

† The titles of earl and viscount were conferred on his brother the Rev. W. Nelson, with estates for the support of his dignity. And an annual salary of £2000. was voted for lady Nelson.

‡ Admiral Collingwood was raised to the peerage with a pension of £2000. Lord Northesk was honoured with the Order of the Bath, and a pension. And a liberal subscription was made for the inferior officers, seamen, &c.

so honourable both to the givers and the receivers.

While Great Britain was thus triumphant on the ocean, her projects were miserably defeated on the continent. A stupendous political and military plan for resisting the exorbitant power of France, and restoring the independence of Europe, had, in the beginning of the year, been formed by the British government, in conjunction with Russia, Austria, Sweden, and Naples. On the 11th April, a treaty was concluded, by which the confederated powers of the continent engaged to bring into the field a force of 500,000 effective troops; and Great Britain was to allow them a subsidy at the rate of £12. 10s. per man. The subsidy was made payable to Austria from the 1st of October, the preceding year, with a further sum of one million and a half as an earnest, or "*Première mise en campagne.*" Of the stipulated forces, Austria engaged to raise 320,000, and Russia 115,000, so that the whole quota of the two empires amounted to 435,000. The remaining 65,000 were to be supplied by the other confederates. It was also agreed that the continental powers should not withdraw their forces, nor Great Britain her subsidies, till a general pacification took place, with the

common consent of all the contracting parties. The plan of this coalition, which was ably conceived, and promised the most brilliant results, may justly be called the masterpiece of Mr. Pitt's policy. It was one of the greatest and most extensive schemes ever devised by any cabinet; but through the precipitancy of the Austrians, the tardiness of the Russians, and the vigorous measures of the French emperor, it failed most miserably in the execution. After the Austrians had experienced a dreadful series of disasters, Vienna was obliged to open her gates to the conqueror. The fatal battle of Austerlitz, fought on the 2d of December, in which the combined armies of Austria and Russia were totally defeated by the French emperor, completely dissolved this formidable confederacy, and sealed the destiny of Europe.

A. D. 1806. Among the changes which this fatal campaign produced on the continent, was the expulsion of the king of Naples from his capital. On the very day that peace between France and Austria was ratified, the French emperor issued a proclamation, announcing that the Neapolitan dynasty had ceased to reign.* He accord-

* See the French emperor's declaration against Naples, December 27th, 1805.

ingly conferred the crown of Naples on his brother Joseph Bonaparte, who, being supported by a French army, took possession of that kingdom. And his Neapolitan majesty took refuge in Sicily, where he was protected by the squadron and troops of Great Britain.

The southern parts of the kingdom of Naples continuing to resist the invaders, an expedition was projected from Sicily, in order to second the efforts of the Calabrians for restoring their legitimate sovereign. Major-general Sir J. Stuart, commander of the British forces in Sicily, had the conduct of this enterprise, the issue of which was in the highest degree glorious to himself and his army. Having effected a landing at St. Eusemia, he immediately advanced to attack the French under general Regnier, who occupied a strong position at Maida. Here the troops of the two rival nations were fairly put to the trial, and those of Great Britain displayed an indisputable superiority. The army of general Regnier consisted of about 7000 veteran troops; that of general Stuart was somewhat short of 4800. The British troops charging at the point of the bayonet, put to flight one of the most distinguished legions of France, and, notwithstanding the

disparity of numbers, obtained a decisive victory. In this memorable action, which was fought on the 4th July, the loss of the French was estimated at 4000 men killed, wounded, and prisoners: that of the English was surprisingly small, being stated at only 45 killed, and 282 wounded.* The immediate result of this expedition was equal to the most sanguine hopes of the victors. Within little more than a month, the French were expelled from Calabria. But their overwhelming power on the continent proved irresistible. Their armies being strongly reinforced, they soon recovered their losses: the authority of the new monarch was established in Naples; and the views of Great Britain were chiefly directed to the protection of Sicily.

During these transactions, events of still greater importance took place on the continent of Europe. In the beginning of the year the king of Prussia seized the electorate of Hanover. This occasioned a war between Prussia and Great Britain; which, however, was productive of no greater events than an interruption of commercial intercourse, and the capture of a few Prussian

* See general Stuart's dispatches, dated July 6th, 1806.

vessels. In the middle of the summer, the Batavian republic was changed into a monarchy, and on the 24th June, Louis Bonaparte was crowned king of Holland. This was followed by the dissolution of the Germanic constitution and empire, which had subsisted for so many ages; and in the autumn a war took place between France and Prussia, the operations and issue of which have no parallel in ancient or modern history.*

The chain of continental operations have hitherto led us from the history of domestic occurrences, which were of no small importance. On the 8th of January, Great Britain solemnized the funeral of her naval hero, the immortal Nelson, and a few days after had to lament the loss of her favourite statesman, the right honourable William Pitt, first lord of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer, who, after being some time in a declining state of health, died at his house at Putney, on the 23d of January, in the 47th year of his age. As an orator he was universally admired: as a politician his character will be variously depicted by future historians, according to their different pre-

* As these momentous revolutions can only be slightly mentioned in this compendium, a reference must be had to the author's *General History of Europe*, in 2 vols. 8vo. where the causes and consequences are detailed and investigated.

judices and views. No minister ever made a more conspicuous figure on the political theatre, and impartial history will always allow that he stood in a critical situation, in times of unparalleled difficulty. His death caused a total change in the ministry. Lord Grenville was appointed first lord of the treasury; earl Fitzwilliam, president of the council; and Mr. Fox, principal secretary of state for the foreign department. Negotiations for peace immediately commenced, and continued almost to the end of the year; but the chicanery of the French government prevented the return of that blessing to Europe.*

In the beginning of this year, Great Britain made an important acquisition in the southern hemisphere. On the 10th of January, general Baird and Sir Home Popham, two officers highly distinguished by their courage and conduct on various occasions, took the Cape of Good Hope, after overcoming the most formidable difficulties. The whole loss on this occasion amounted to fifteen men killed, one hundred and eighty-nine wounded, eight missing, and thirty-six drowned in landing.†

* The amount of the ways and means for this year was £43,618,472. and of the supplies £43,630,000. exclusive of Ireland. This year the act for limited service in the army was passed.

† See general Baird's dispatches, dated Capetown, January 12th, 1806.—Gazette.

This important conquest was soon afterwards followed by a considerable advantage gained by admiral Duckworth, in the West Indies. The British squadron, under his command, consisting of seven sail of the line and four frigates, fell in with a French force of five ships of the line. An action ensued, and was obstinately maintained during the space of two hours. Three of the enemy's ships of the line were taken, and the other two being driven on shore, were completely wrecked, and afterwards burned.

After the reduction of the Cape of Good Hope, Sir Home Popham and general Beresford undertook an expedition against the Spanish settlements in South America. On the 4th of June, they arrived off the mouth of the Rio de la Plata, and proceeding up that river amidst innumerable difficulties, arising from the shoals, the adverse winds and currents, the foggy weather, and the inaccuracy of the charts, at length came to an anchor off the point of Quilmay, about four leagues from the town of Buenos Ayres.* The British troops being landed, advanced through a swampy ground to attack the village of Redaction, situated on the brow of a hill,

* Sir Home Popham's dispatches, July 6th. So difficult was the navigation, that the squadron had been nine days in advancing 78 miles. Compare general Beresford's dispatches, July 2d, 1806.

two miles from the place of disembarkation, and occupied by about 2000 militia, who were soon put to flight. General Beresford then continued his march, and having forced the passage of the Rio Chuelo, in the face of a numerous body of provincial troops, advanced to Buenos Ayres. Most of the soldiers had abandoned the town, and the governor being unable make any resistance, surrendered on the 28th of June by a capitulation, of which the principal articles were security to religion, to the persons of the inhabitants, and to all private property.*

The conquest of Buenos Ayres was glorious to the British arms; but it did not prove a permanent acquisition. In the following month, Pucridon, one of the municipality, applied himself with great assiduity and address to excite a general revolt, and was ably assisted by the exertions of colonel Liniers, a French officer in the service of Spain. The business was skilfully managed, and the insurrection was organised with extreme rapidity. General Beresford, with the British troops, left in Buenos Ayres, after making the most vigorous efforts, were overpowered

* The public treasure found at Buenos Ayres amounted to 1,391,323 dollars, of which 1,086,203 were embarked on board the *Narcissus*, the rest was left in the treasury.

by numbers, and compelled to capitulate, on condition of marching out with the honours of war, and being sent to England as prisoners.* This capitulation, however, was violated by the Spaniards, who detained the British troops in the country. Soon after this disaster, Sir H. Popham and lieutenant-colonel Backhouse, with a very small force, made themselves masters of Maldonado.

But the British nation, at this time, acquired, by an act of humanity and justice, a glory superior to that which victories and conquests can ever confer. Ever since the year 1788, when the slave trade first became the subject of parliamentary discussion, measures had been proposed and bills had been past, in almost every session, for its better regulation, in order to prepare for its gradual abolition. Messrs. Wilberforce, Pitt, Fox, and a number of other illustrious names, were indefatigable in their exertions for that benevolent purpose. The great question was not whether the abolition of this horrid commerce was, in an abstracted view, a desirable event, a point on which all agreed, but whether it could be rendered compatible with the safety and prosperity of the colonies.† In

* On the 12th of August, 1806.

† Clarkson's Hist. Abol. of the Slave Trade, vol. 2. p. 205.

the course of the debates, the solicitor general stated, from the documents before the house, that, since the year 1796, upwards of three hundred and sixty thousand of the natives of Africa; torn from their country by the Europeans, had either been sold into slavery or had miserably perished in their passage to the West Indies.* In the preceding year the bill, for the abolition, was lost in the House of Commons by only a small majority. The attainment of this desirable object was reserved for Mr. Fox and his colleagues in office, supported by Mr. Wilberforce and other illustrious senators. On the 11th of June, a day sacred to the recollections of humanity, the bill, for the entire abolition of the slave trade, was carried in the house by a majority of a hundred and fifteen against fifteen voices.† Thus did the British ministry and senate secure the applause of all who revere the principles of justice, philanthropy, and religion. The abolition of African slavery will form a glorious epoch in the reign of George III. future historians will commemorate, and millions, yet unborn, will bless that

* At a former period, Mr. Pitt had described the slave trade as the most severe and extensive calamity recorded in the history of the world. Clark. Hist. Abol. 2. p. 425.

† See parliamentary transactions in Feb. 1805, and in June 1806.

happy period in which the indefeasible rights of human nature were restored, in spite of interest, prescription, and prejudice.*

Before the end of the year Great Britain had to mourn the loss of a patriot and statesman, who, in respect of talents and virtues, has had few equals, and, perhaps, in no age or nation any superior. On the 13th Sept. Mr. Fox, who had been for some time afflicted with a dropsy, expired without pain, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. The justness of his political views has been questioned by some, and marked by others with unqualified approbation. Of his accomplishments, as an orator and a scholar, no difference of opinion seems to have ever existed. His disinterested patriotism and universal philanthropy render his memory dear to his country and to mankind.

A. D. 1807. The death of Mr. Fox made no alteration in the mode of conducting the public affairs; but the important question of catholic emancipation led to a change in the ministry, and afterwards to the dissolution of parliament. The duke of Portland was appointed first lord of the treasury: the right hon. S.

March 24th,
A. D. 1807.

* For a detailed relation of the abolition of the slave trade the reader may be referred to Clarkson's History above quoted.

Perceval was nominated chancellor and under treasurer. New ministers were introduced into the other departments, and several new members into the privy council, of which earl Camden was made president. The intricate nature and complicated tendencies of the catholic question, induced the king to appeal to the general sense of the nation by calling a new parliament; and his majesty's prudence, in adopting that measure, is worthy of applause. At the meeting of the new parliament it was soon perceived

June 22nd,
A. D. 1807.

that the change of ministry and the dissolution of the former parliament had given a fatal blow to the projected measure of catholic emancipation, which had been the favourite object of those eminent statesmen Pitt and Fox, how much soever they might differ in their opinions on other political subjects. The catholic question is of too complicated a nature for any discussion in this compendium; but every one must indulge a wish that circumstances could permit an extension of equal privileges without any regard to religious distinctions, and that all British subjects, whatever may be their theological tenets, may have only one political creed with loyalty to the sovereign and attachment to the constitution for its fundamental articles.

The vast and varied scene of war and politics exhibited a rapid succession of events. The year commenced with the capture of Curacoa, which surrendered to captain Brisbane, by capitulation, after the lower forts and the citadel had been carried by assault. The capture of that important settlement was followed by a splendid conquest in South America. A strong reinforcement of troops from the Cape of Good Hope having arrived at Maldonado, brigadier-general Auchmuty and admiral Stirling resolved to attack the important city and fortress of Monte Video; and, on the 18th of January, a landing was effected at the distance of about nine miles from the town.* On the following day, the British troops began to move towards Monte Video; but were obliged to fight their way to the suburbs. The next morning, the Spaniards made a sortie, and attacked the English with their whole force, consisting of about six thousand men, with several pieces of artillery. A severe action took place; and the Spaniards having lost about four hundred killed, and as many prisoners, were driven back into the town. The English immediately commenced the siege, which was carried on with extraordinary activity and vigour. Although a

* Brig.-general Auchmuty's dispatches, dated Feb. 6th, 1807—or seven miles—see admiral Stirling's dispatch, Feb. 8th, 1807.

heavy fire was incessantly kept up from the town during the whole time of the siege, a practicable breach was, on the 2d February, effected, and, before daylight, this important fortress was carried by assault. Throughout the whole scene of operations the fleet and army acted in concert; and both the naval and military officers displayed uncommon skill, in conjunction with the most determined courage. The loss sustained by the British troops might be regarded as small, if we consider the difficulties which they had to encounter, and the resistance made by the enemy. The whole number of killed and wounded amounted to only five hundred and eighteen; but among these were several valuable officers. About eight hundred of the Spaniards were killed, and five hundred wounded, and the governor, with upwards of two thousand officers and soldiers, were taken prisoners.

In the mean while, the naval operations of Great Britain were extended to the Hellespont and the Propontis. The Ottoman Porte, influenced by the intrigues of France, having commenced hostilities against Russia, at that time the ally of Great Britain, admiral Duckworth, who then commanded a fleet in the Mediterranean, was ordered to proceed to

Constantinople, for the purpose of awing the divan, and inducing the grand seignor to adopt a pacific system. On the 19th of February, a favourable gale blowing from the south, the British fleet effected the passage up the Hellespont, or strait of the Dardanelles, under a heavy cannonade from the castles; and admiral Sir Sidney Smith destroyed a Turkish squadron, consisting of one ship of the line, four frigates, and several brigs and corvettes. In the evening of the 21st, the fleet came to an anchor at the distance of about eight miles from Constantinople. Capt. Capel, in the *Endymion*, was sent to convey the ambassador's dispatches, by a flag of truce, to the Porte; but, from the state of the wind, and the strength of the current, he found it impracticable to approach within four miles of the city. At noon the next day, a minister came from the Porte, from whose expressions it appeared, that the grand seignor was desirous of peace; but an armed and highly exasperated populace overawed the government. Negotiation, therefore, proved ineffectual; and the formidable preparations at Constantinople, as well as the strength of the current from the Bosphorus, and the circuitous eddies of the port, which rendered it impossible to place the shipping for an attack on the city

without a commanding breeze, soon convinced the British admiral that nothing could be effected by force.* On the 1st of March, the fleet weighed anchor, and on the following day repassed the straits, under a tremendous fire from the castles, and from other forts which had been erected since their former passage. In going up, the British fleet had found the fire from the two inner castles extremely severe; but its effects on the shipping, in their return, shewed it to be doubly formidable, several of the stone shot weighing upwards of 8 cwt. By a singular kind of good fortune, however, all the ships effected the passage in safety, though not without considerable damage and loss of men. But the manner in which the Turks had employed so short an interval as ten days, affords reason to believe, that if the British fleet had, by remaining a week longer before Constantinople, allowed them that time to complete their defences along the channel, its return would have been rendered impossible.†

This expedition to Constantinople having involved Great Britain in open hostilities

* For the currents of the Bosphorus the reader may consult Tournefort's Trav. 2. lett. 8. and a number of other authors of a later period; but none of them give a more correct description than Tournefort.

† For an account of this expedition see admiral Duckworth's dispatches.

with the Porte, a small force, under major-general Frazer, immediately sailed from Messina to Egypt, and took possession of Alexandria, which surrendered on the 20th of March by capitulation, without making any resistance. This success was soon followed by a train of disasters. The British troops having made two unsuccessful attacks on Rosetta, were overpowered by the numbers of the Turkish cavalry, and obliged to retreat.* A considerable number of officers were made prisoners, and sent to Cairo. In the month of November following, a convention took place: the Turks restored all the prisoners, and the British troops evacuated Egypt.

In the month of June, a misunderstanding arose between Great Britain and the United States of America, which various circumstances afterwards contributed to foment. The Chesapeake, American frigate, being known to have several English deserters on board, captain Humphreys, in the Leopard, was ordered to search the vessel, and the liberty was to be reciprocal. This being refused by the American commander, an action

* The loss of the British army from the 19th to the 21st April, inclusive, was 104 killed and wounded, and 811 missing. See general Stuart's letter to general Frazer, dated 25th April, 1807.

ensued, and the Chesapeake struck her colours, after having six men killed, and twenty-one wounded. The English deserters being found, the American vessel was permitted to depart. This affair greatly exasperated the people of America, and occasioned an interruption of commercial intercourse between the United States and Great Britain.

About the same time was undertaken the disastrous expedition which terminated the operations of the English in the Rio de la Plata. A respectable armament, under lieutenant-general Whitelock and rear-admiral Murray, sailed from Monte Video for the attack of Buenos Ayres; and, on the 28th June, the troops, nearly eight thousand in number, effected a landing at a small bay called the Ensinada de Barragon.* After an extremely fatiguing march, the army arrived before Buenos Ayres; and, as it was known that the enemy intended to occupy the flat roofs of the houses, the following mode of attack was adopted.† The troops were formed in several

* The Ensinada de Barragon, thirty miles to the eastward of Buenos Ayres, is the nearest place where troops can be disembarked under cover of ships of war. See lieutenant-colonel Burke's evidence on general Whitelock's trial, 4th day.—The British force which landed at the Ensinada was 7822 men, exclusive of 200 seamen. See col. Bradford's examination on general Whitelock's trial, 16th day.

† The city and suburbs of Buenos Ayres are divided into squares of about 140 yards each side, the houses are very large and strong, with flat roofs.

divisions, each of which was to advance up the street in its front, till it arrived at the post which it was to occupy; and the soldiers had their arms unloaded, in order to prevent any firing till the columns should have reached their assigned points. At half past six in the morning, the troops began to move to the attack. The British officers led on their columns with the greatest firmness and resolution; but the fire to which the troops were exposed was extremely destructive. Grape shot was poured on them from the corners of the streets, and volleys of musketry, with showers of bricks and stones from the tops of the houses. In the evening the British troops had obtained possession of the Plaza de Toros and the Residencia; but these advantages had cost them above two thousand five hundred men killed, wounded, and prisoners. In the morning, general Whitelock received a letter from the Spanish commander, intimating that from the exasperated state of the people, he could not answer for the safety of the prisoners, if offensive operations were continued.* A convention was therefore agreed on, the principal

* The turbulence of the people of Buenos Ayres, and their extreme aversion to the English, is forcibly described in captain Foster's examination on general Whitelock's trial, 27th day.

articles of which were that a mutual restitution of all prisoners captured in South America, since the commencement of hostilities, should take place, and that the British troops should evacuate the country.* Such was the result of this fatal expedition, which appears to have failed from a want of that concert which is requisite in military operations. The columns which entered the town were not properly supported, and the commander in chief being tried by a court martial, was adjudged incapable of serving his majesty in any military capacity. Circumstances, however, were such, that even with the best management, the enterprize must have fallen short of its ultimate object, as it evidently appeared on general Whitelock's trial, that if the Spanish governor had given up the town, the whole British force would not have been sufficient to control the mass of armed inhabitants.†

The rapid successes of the French, during this and the preceding campaign, astonished and overawed the continent of Europe. After having made an almost entire conquest of

* Two months were allowed the British troops for the evacuation of Monte Video, which was to be left in its actual state, with all the artillery which it had when taken.

† See the evidence of general Gower on the 18th, and of general Auchmuty on the 19th day of general Whitelock's trial.

the Prussian dominions, the emperor of the French proceeded to the banks of the Vistula, where the Russian armies were assembled for the purpose of opposing his progress. In the bloody battles of Pultusk and Eylau, the fortunes of France and Russia seemed to be equally balanced; but at length the fatal day arrived which was to decide the mighty contest.* On the 14th June, 1807, the emperor of the French defeated, with a dreadful carnage, the concentrated force of the Russians at Friedland. This sanguinary action was followed by a treaty of peace, which was concluded at Tilsit between Russia and France, on the 7th of July, and a few days afterwards between France and Prussia, on terms dictated by the victor. By one of the articles, the ports of Prussia, as well as that of Dantzick, were to be shut against the vessels and trade of Great Britain; and subsequent events have authorised a supposition that Russia entered into the same engagement.

The circumstances of Europe now rendered it extremely improbable that Denmark should long maintain her neutrality. It was there-

* The battle of Pultusk was fought on the 26th December, 1806, and that of Eylau, February 7th and 8th, 1807.

fore thought highly expedient to prevent the Danish navy from falling into the hands of the French emperor, who appears to have formed the design of turning the maritime force of Denmark and Portugal against Great Britain. His Britannic majesty, therefore, requested, in the most amicable and conciliating manner, the temporary deposit of the Danish ships of war in some of the British ports. In order to give weight to the negotiation, a formidable naval and military force under admiral Gambier and lord Cathcart, was sent to the Baltic, in order to protect Denmark against the resentment of France, in case of an amicable result, or to enforce compliance if her government should reject the proposal. This armament being arrived in the Baltic, and the Danish cabinet refusing to listen to the proposed terms of accommodation, the British troops landed at Wibeck, about half way between Elsineur and Copenhagen. Military operations soon commenced; and the Danish army was defeated by general Sir Arthur Wellesley, with a very considerable loss. The British forces having invested Copenhagen, and all the preparations being completed, the city was summoned, and the proposals for an accommodation were renewed. This producing no

Sept. 1,
A. D. 1807.

effect, the bombardment both from the land batteries and the shipping commenced on the following day, and continued till the evening of the 5th September, when a proposal for a capitulation was made by the garrison. On the 6th, the capitulation was agreed on : the principal articles were, that the ships of war of every description, together with all the naval stores, should be delivered up to his Britannic majesty : that all other property, public and private, should be respected : that all British property, sequestered in consequence of the rupture, should be restored to the owners : that a mutual restitution of prisoners should take place ; and that the British forces should, within the space of six weeks, evacuate Denmark.* The Danish government, however, refused to ratify the capitulation, and issued a formal declaration of war against England. But the occupation of Zealand requiring a greater number of troops than Great Britain could spare for

* The loss on board the English fleet during the siege of Copenhagen, was only 50 killed and wounded ; that of the army only 208 killed, wounded, and missing. The Danish navy consisted of 18 ships of the line, 15 frigates, 5 brigs, and 25 gun-boats. The city suffered severely by the bombardment. The number of houses destroyed were estimated at 400, besides many others greatly damaged, and 1100 of the inhabitants are said to have been killed. For the details of this expedition, see the dispatches of lord Cathcart and admiral Gambier, dated September 8th, 1807.

that purpose, the country was evacuated according to the convention. This expedition served as an ostensible pretext for the hostility which Russia appears to have meditated against England ever since the treaty of Tilsit. On the 31st of October, a manifesto was published by the emperor Alexander, declaring that all friendly intercourse was broken off between Russia and Great Britain; and this was immediately followed by an imperial ukase, ordering the detention of all British ships and property.

From the very commencement of the war, the emperor of the French seems to have aimed at the annihilation of the trade of Great Britain. In the month of November, the preceding year, he issued, at Berlin, a decree which declared the British islands in a state of blockade, and subjected to capture and confiscation all neutral vessels that should not have a "certificate of origin," under the signature of the French consul, at the port from which they cleared out, attesting that no part of their cargo consisted of British manufacture or produce. The cabinet of London deemed it expedient to oppose, by retaliation, this new and unprecedented mode of hostility; and, in the month of November, this year, were issued the famous orders in

council, declaring France, with all the countries under her immediate power and influence in a state of blockade, and subjecting to seizure all vessels that should have on board any such certificate as was required by the Berlin decree, or that should trade between neutral and hostile ports, without touching at some port of Great Britain. The Berlin decree, and the British orders in council, acting as a two-edged sword on neutral commerce, were extremely detrimental to the Americans, who were the general carriers, especially of colonial produce. The congress retaliated by an embargo in all the ports of the United States; and, notwithstanding the temporary extinction of their commerce, long persisted in the measure.*

The rapid and unprecedented successes of Napoleon, in the war against Prussia and Russia, were productive of great and singular effects on the political and commercial system of Europe. Having overcome all opposition in the north, the French emperor was left at leisure to pursue his schemes of aggrandizement in the south. His armies entered Spain,

* Great apprehensions were entertained that by these commercial restrictions, the Americans will be obliged to adopt a manufacturing system, which must be detrimental to the trade of Great Britain. See Mr. Brougham's speech, April 1, 1806.

and having marked Portugal for his prey, he had publicly declared that the "House of Braganza should cease to reign."* A French army, under general Junot, had entered Portugal, and, on the evening of the 26th of November, had advanced to Abrantes, within three days march of Lisbon. At this momentous crisis, the Prince Regent having hastily concerted his measures with lord Strangford, the British ambassador at Lisbon, adopted the prudent and vigorous resolution of removing the royal family and the seat of the Portuguese government to Brazil. As no time was left for delay, the embarkation was expeditiously performed; and, on the morning of the 29th, the Portuguese fleet† sailed out of the Tagus, having on board the prince of Brazil, with the whole of the royal family of Braganza, and a number of persons attached to its fortunes.‡ This singular migration, which has no example in modern, and, all its circumstances considered, scarcely any in ancient history, was performed under the protection of the British navy. Sir Sidney

* *Moniteur* of the 18th November.

† Consisting of 8 ships of the line, viz. one of 84, four of 74, and three of 64 guns, four frigates, three brigs, and a schooner.

‡ The French troops were already arrived in the vicinity of Lisbon, and, from the heights, had a view of the fleet as it dropped down the river. They then entered the city without opposition.

Smith, with a British squadron, accompanied the royal emigrants to Rio de Janeiro, where they arrived on the 19th of January following, after a prosperous voyage. And a direct intercourse being established between Brazil and Great Britain, formed a new epoch in the history of British and Portuguese commerce.

A. D. 1808. The predominating influence of

France on the continent, incessantly produced some new effect. In the beginning of this year, Austria, hitherto the principal ally of Great Britain, went over to the side of her enemies. The ostensible cause of this change was a refusal, on the part of the cabinet of London, to accept the mediation of Austria for a peace between England and France. The overtures appeared, to the British ministers, to be made in a manner too vague and indeterminate to authorize the opening of a negociation, as the Austrian ambassador, the prince of Stahremberg, presented no authenticated document of a pacific commission from the French government, nor gave any intimation of the basis on which it was proposed to treat. Under such circumstances his majesty did not think it expedient to give the ambassador any authority to speak in his name to the government of France, although he expressed his readiness to enter into a

negociation, on a footing of perfect equality, embracing the interests of the allies of both powers.* Thus terminated this preposterous attempt at negociation which seems to have failed for want of a proper beginning.

The immediate consequence was a rupture between Austria and Great Britain; but from the local situation of the two powers their forces could seldom come into contact.†

In the north of Europe was also opened a new scene of hostility. In February, a Russian army entered the Swedish province of Finland, and war was reciprocally declared by the courts of Stockholm and Petersburgh. The death of the king of Denmark, Christern VII. happened about the same time; and the

Feb. 13th,
A. D. 1808.

crown prince ascended the throne by the name of Frederick VI. The accession of the new king was followed by a declaration of war against Sweden.‡ That

* See papers relating to the correspondence with Austria laid before parliament, in January, 1808.

† At this period all the ports of the European continent, from Constantinople to Petersburgh, were shut against the vessels and trade of Great Britain, except those of Sweden.

‡ On the 16th February, the British and Sicilian forces were entirely expelled from Calabria. By a train of masterly operations, they evacuated the fortress of Scylla with very little loss, under a tremendous fire of grape shot, shells, &c. from the enemy's batteries. The same month was rendered remarkable by the fall of the temporal power of the Pope. The city of Rome was seized by the French, and, together with the whole of the ecclesiastical states, incorporated with the kingdom of Italy.

kingdom. being now involved in a war with Russia, Denmark, and France, the Swedish monarch immediately prepared to meet the dangers with which he was threatened by so formidable a combination of enemies. But as the resources of his kingdom were inadequate to the contest, the British government granted, to his Swedish majesty, a subsidy of a hundred thousand pounds per month, and sent a squadron to the Baltic, with ten thousand land forces on board, to afford such assistance as the circumstances of the war should require. A disagreement, however, which arose between the Swedish monarch and the British general, in regard to their military plans, prevented their co-operation, and caused the return of the armament.* The war between Russia and Sweden was chiefly confined to Finland, and to trivial actions between their ships and flotillas in the Baltic: the hostilities carried on between Sweden and Denmark were of still less importance.

In the mean while, the attention of Europe, and of Great Britain in particular, was attracted by events of such magnitude, and so contrary to all expectation, as to pro-

* For the nature and causes of the dispute between the king of Sweden and Sir J. Moore, see Campaign in Spain, p. 3, 4, &c.

duce an entirely new train of political events, and to open a new field for military operations. To develop the complicated tissue of court intrigue, of foreign and domestic treachery, of royal weakness, and ministerial profligacy, which led to the subversion of the throne of the Bourbons in Spain, would be here out of place.* It suffices, therefore, to observe, that, after the emperor of the French had, in the character of a friend and ally, introduced his armies into Spain, the reigning monarch, Charles IV. perplexed and harassed by court intrigues, and popular turbulence, was induced or compelled to resign his crown to his son, the prince of Asturias. The new king, Ferdinand VII. with his father, the abdicated monarch, the whole of the royal family, and some of the principal grandees, were, in a mysterious manner, allured to take a journey to Bayonne, for the purpose of an interview with the French emperor. Having thus gotten the two kings in his power, Napoleon obliged them both to sign a formal abdication; and the infants, Don Carlos and Don Antonio, renounced all claim to the succession. These abdications

* These affairs are briefly investigated by the author of this work in his *General History of Europe*, 2 vols. 8vo. and still more at large in his *Hist. of Spain*, 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1810.

and renunciations were represented as voluntary acts ; but Spain, and all Europe, viewed them in a different light. An imperial decree, however, was issued, declaring the throne of Spain to be vacant by the abdication of the reigning family. A junta, composed of the partizans of France, was convened at Bayonne ; and the French emperor conferred the crown of Spain on his brother, Joseph Bonaparte, who abdicated his kingdom of Naples in favour of the grand duke of Berg.

June 6th,
A. D. 1808.

From the state of affairs in Spain, it was imagined that the new sovereign would meet with little opposition in taking possession of the kingdom. The French occupied all the strongest and most commanding positions : the main body of their army was stationed in Madrid, and all the principal cities and fortresses were garrisoned by their detachments. At a moderate computation, the French could not have less than a hundred thousand troops in Spain, and general Junot had twenty thousand in Portugal. So formidable a force, so advantageously disposed, seemed to promise the new king a tranquil accession ; but the news of the compulsory renunciations made by the royal family was the signal for a general insurrection. The

patriotic flame first broke out in Asturias. The brave inhabitants of that province, at the time of the Arabian invasion, preserved by their valour the remains of the Spanish monarchy, and their intrepid spirit has through the long succession of eleven centuries been transmitted to their descendants. From Asturias the insurrection instantly spread into Galicia, and several districts of Leon. A provincial junta, assembled at Oviedo, published a formal declaration of war against France, and having appointed the marquis of Santa Cruz general of the patriotic army, sent a deputation to solicit the assistance of England. This request was readily granted, and the British government declared itself at peace with the Spanish nation.* In a few days the insurrection became general, and the whole kingdom of Spain became a vast theatre of war. To detail the bloody operations of the French and Spaniards, is not the design of this history. It suffices, therefore, to observe, that the same day on which king Joseph made his public entrance

July 20th,
A. D. 1808. into Madrid, was distinguished by the surrender of general Dupont and his whole army, to the Spanish commander Cas-

* See his Britannic majesty's proclamation, July 4th, 1808.

tanos. The new monarch, on receiving intelligence of this disaster, made a precipitate retreat, after a residence of only seven days in his capital. During the two months of June and July, the efforts of the Spaniards were crowned with astonishing success. The French, after losing fifty thousand men killed or made prisoners,* were obliged to abandon the capital and the greatest part of the kingdom, and to concentrate their force on the north of the Ebro.

At this important crisis, Portugal followed the example of Spain. A general insurrection took place in the northern parts of the kingdom. After several severe conflicts the French were expelled from Oporto, Coimbra, and several other places, and general Junot was obliged to concentrate his force in Lisbon and its vicinity.

The British government resolved to give every possible aid to the Spanish and Portuguese patriots, and its intentions met with the universal approbation and applause of the public. Large quantities of arms had already been shipped off for the use of the patriots in Spain, and the ministry made no delay in sending a formidable body of troops to their

* From a comparison of various documents, this appears to be a moderate and tolerably accurate estimate.

assistance. But the want of a supreme authority and centre of union among the provincial juntas, prevented any effectual plan from being concerted between the patriots and the British ministers.* Besides the difficulty arising from this defect in their political system, it appears that the Spaniards, elated with their brilliant successes, regarded themselves as fully equal to the task of expelling the enemy. In consequence of this fatal delusion, the patriots declined the assistance of the British forces in the north, and recommended an expedition to Portugal.† Great Britain complied with the representations of the juntas; and a force of fourteen thousand men, commanded by general Sir Arthur Wellesley, was sent to that country. Military operations commenced soon after their landing; and the French general, La Borde, was, after a severe action, compelled to abandon his strong position on the heights of Roleia. In the following night he effected a junction with general Loison at Torres Vedras, and

* The state of the juntas is well described in Mr. Sec. Canning's speech, Jan. 19th, 1809.

† For the bad effects of sending an army to Portugal instead of the North of Spain, see the speeches of the earls St. Vincent, Grenville, and Moira, and for the reasons why that measure was adopted see those of lords Hawksbury and Castlereagh, and of Mr. Secretary Canning. Parliamentary debates, January 19th, 1809.

both began their retreat towards Lisbon. The British army was also reinforced by a body of troops under brigadier-general Anstruther.

The day was now approaching that was to decide the fate of the French army in Portugal, and of the Russian fleet in the Tagus.* General Junot, on whom Napoleon had conferred the title of Duc d'Abrantes, having collected all his detachments, attacked the British army, in its strong position, at the village of Vimiera. The conflict was extremely severe; but at length the French, being every where repulsed, were compelled to retire, with the loss of three thousand five hundred men killed, wounded, and prisoners, thirteen pieces of cannon, and twenty-three tumbrils of ammunition.† The military abilities of the commander in chief displayed themselves, in this action, to great advantage; and the advice and assistance of general Spencer contributed, in no small degree, to the success of the day. Major-generals Ferguson and Hill, brigadier-generals Nightingale, Crauford, Fane, Anstruther,

* This Russian fleet had run into the Tagus to avoid falling into the hands of the English, when the rupture took place between Great Britain and Russia.

† The loss of the English, as stated in the returns, was 740 killed, wounded and missing; but among these were many valuable officers.

Bowes, and Auckland, added fresh laurels to those they had before won; and, in fine, all the officers and soldiers covered themselves with glory.

On the day after the battle, general Dalrymple arrived, and took the command of the army. A cessation of hostilities immediately took place, and eight days afterwards a convention was signed by the French and British commanders.

Aug. 30th,
A. D. 1808.

The French troops, with their arms, ammunition, artillery, carriages, horses, military chest, and all the plunder acquired by contributions, were to be conveyed to France in British vessels, without any restrictions in regard to future service. The Portuguese artillery, &c. with the military and naval arsenals were to be surrendered to the English. No Portuguese was to be called to account for having taken part with the invaders; and the British commanders engaged to prevail on the Spaniards to release all the French who had been arrested in Spain, and were not "*bona fide*" military men. The Russian fleet, in the Tagus,* was surrendered to the British government as a deposit, to be restored six months after the conclusion of a peace; but

* The Russian fleet consisted of nine ships of the line and a frigate.

the officers and seamen, who were above five thousand six hundred in number, were to be immediately carried to Russia!

The reasons assigned for this convention were the apprehended difficulty of obtaining provisions, the importance of time, on account of the season of the year, and the means which the enemy had of protracting his defence; but they were far from being satisfactory either to the British or Portuguese nation. The people of England considered the convention as a disgraceful contrast to so glorious a victory; and the commander in chief of the Portuguese troops entered a protest against several of its articles. In consequence of this dissatisfaction a court of inquiry was instituted; but on a minute investigation nothing appeared that had the least tendency to criminate any of the generals. On the contrary it is requisite to observe, that the convention of Cintra saved the city of Lisbon from the horrors of a siege and the danger of destruction, and that the critical state of Spain rendered it highly expedient to terminate, as soon as possible, the business of Portugal.*

* The most important parts of the convention of Cintra were in unison with the convention of Egypt in 1801, and on a minute examination and just estimate, their advantages and disadvantages will appear to be very nearly balanced.

A few days before the battle of Vimiera, the patriotic force in Spain received a considerable accession of strength. Several bodies of Spanish troops had been furnished by the court of Madrid as auxiliaries to the French. Of these eight thousand were stationed in the Danish island of Funen, and two thousand in that of Langoland. A negociation being entered into by their general, the marquis del Romana, with the British admiral Keats, in order to effect their liberation, the Spaniards, in Funen, seized the vessels and small craft, the Danish troops in that island being unable to make any opposition, and conveyed themselves to Langoland, where they formed a junction with their countrymen, and were conveyed by the British shipping to Spain. Thus, by a well conducted scheme, ten thousand Spanish veterans rescued themselves from the power of the French emperor, and regained their native shores, where they joined their brethren in arms in supporting the cause of their country.

After the convention of Cintra, the British army consumed two months at Lisbon, by reason of the difficulty of concerting any regular plan of operations with the divided authorities of Spain.* But at length about

* See Mr. Secretary Canning's speech, January 19th, 1809.

the end of September, a supreme central junta being formed, the army began its march for

Oct. 28th,
A. D. 1808. Spain, under the command of Sir John Moore, and proceeded in

different divisions to Salamanca. In the mean while general Sir David Baird had, on the 13th of October, landed a strong body of British troops at Corunna, and after many delays and difficulties reached Astorga. But in the month of November the emperor of the French entered Spain, in order to conduct the operations of the war; and the patriotic armies, under generals Belvedere, Blake, and Castaños, being successively defeated, Madrid surrendered to his arms.* His next

Dec. 4th,
A. D. 1808. object was to cut off the retreat of the British troops. Having for this purpose put in motion his different divisions under the dukes of Dalmatia, Abrantes, Dantzic, and Treviso, he himself departed from Madrid on the 18th December with thirty-two thousand infantry and eight thousand cavalry. Thus

* The prince of Castel Franco and Don. T. Morla, were strongly suspected of having treasonably delivered up Madrid.—Vide Neale's Letters from Spain and Portugal, Letter 41. p. 243. Sir J. Moore ascribes all the misfortunes of the Spaniards not to any fault or weakness in the people, but to the want of energy and ability in the government. See letter to lord Castlereagh, dated at Salamanca, 29th Nov. 1808. General Moore calls the Spaniards "a fine people." Letter dated Salamanca, 28th Nov. Camp. in Spain, p. 72 and 75. See also his letters *passim*, and Neale's Letters from Spain, &c. p. 202. Letter 33rd.

the whole disposable force of the French, forming an irregular crescent, was marching in radii to inclose the British army.*

General Moore, in the mean while, being apprized of the surrender of Madrid, meditated a junction with the marquis Romana, in order to make an attack on the duke of Dalmatia. In this view he marched to Majorga, and being joined by general Baird, with the troops from Corunna, the whole British army, consisting of twenty-three thousand foot and upwards of two thousand horse, advanced to Sahagan.† But general Moore was no sooner arrived at this station, than he received intelligence of the movements of the enemy, and immedi-

Dec. 24th,
A. D. 1808.

ately commenced a precipitate retreat through Gallicia. The French emperor had been retarded by the difficult passage of the mountains of Guadarama, which were covered with a deep snow, and the incessant rains and overflowing torrents had caused a delay of two days in his march.

* For the routes and directions of the different French armies, &c. the inquisitive reader may be referred to the History of the Campaign in Spain, by J. Moore, Esq. brother to the general.

† The author of the Campaign in Spain makes the British army consist of 28,061 infantry and cavalry.—P. 174. But in the Appendix it is stated at a total of 29,350. This is somewhat difficult to reconcile, and the difference cannot be accounted for by the ordinary course of mortality or any military events that had happened.—See Appendix, p. 82 and 83. But the readers of history must never expect to find clearness and precision in numerical statements.

Notwithstanding these difficulties he had marched three hundred miles from the 18th December to the 2d January, when he arrived at Astorga, where, being joined by the duke of Dalmatia, he had intended to surround the British army.* Finding, however, that the expected prey had eluded his grasp, he committed to the dukes of Dalmatia and Abrantes the future operations against the English.

The retreat of the British army was attended by all the disasters inseparable from the rapidity with which it was necessarily conducted, in the middle of winter, and by roads almost impassable, through a country destitute of corn, in which the commissariat could not procure supplies.† Great numbers of men, who were unable to keep up with the army, were left on the line of march, and many dropped down exhausted by fatigue. Numbers of horses were left behind, and no less than fourteen hundred were killed, to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy.‡ General Anstruther died through

* Campaign in Spain, p. 303 and 304.

† Neale's *Letters from Spain and Portugal*. Lett. 52. p. 322.

‡ For the same reason, two cart loads of casks filled with dollars to the amount of £3,000. were rolled down a hill. A body of the advanced guard of the French passed within a very few minutes. It was afterwards reported by some prisoners, that the money was found by the Spanish peasants. Campaign in Spain, p. 314.

excessive fatigue; and some accounts estimate the loss of the British army, during this disastrous retreat, at seven thousand men, though others compute it to a much less number. The English were constantly harassed by the enemy's cavalry, who made frequent attacks on its rear; but were always repulsed with loss. At length, after fourteen days of precipitate and harassing marches, the army

reached Corunna, and had the transports been ready, might have been embarked without further molestation.* But these having been sent to Vigo, to which place the British general had at first intended to retreat, it was not till the 13th of January that the first division of the transports arrived at Corunna.† On the 12th, the advanced guard of the enemy reached Betanzos, within twelve miles of that place, and their main body came up on the 13th. On the 14th and 15th, the rest of the transports arrived, and part of the troops were embarked. The French, in the mean while, had brought up their infantry in great force; and the British

* The army had marched 250 miles. See *Camp. in Spain*, p. 335.

† On the reports of the engineers, Corunna was thought to afford greater conveniences for embarkation than Vigo, which presented no advantages for embarking in the face of an enemy. See *Campaign in Spain*, p. 310, &c. and Sir J. Moore's letter, dated Corunna, 13th January, 1809.

general, perceiving an action unavoidable, suspended the embarkation. On Sunday the 15th, the duke of Dalmatia began to harass the English with continual skirmishes, while he made his dispositions for cutting them off from the point of embarkation by an impetuous attack. But general Moore aware of his design, took the necessary precautions, and drew up his army before the walls of Corunna. On the following day, Jan. 16, A. D. 1809, about two in the afternoon, the French general gave orders for the attack, which was made with the most terrible impetuosity, and sustained with invincible firmness. After an action of three hours, a vigorous charge with the bayonet decided the contest, and compelled the French to retire. The loss sustained by the English is computed at between seven and eight hundred men, that of the enemy remains unknown.* In the beginning of the action, general Baird, so well known by his distinguished bravery and eminent services, received a wound in his arm, which rendered amputation immediately necessary. Some time after, general Moore was wounded by a shot in the shoulder, of which he died before midnight. He fell in

* General Hope's dispatch to General Baird, Jan. 18th, 1809.

the prime of life; but he fell crowned with laurels. Like Wolfe, Abercrombie, and Nelson, he expired in the arms of victory: like theirs, his name will be illustrious, and his memory immortal.* The command devolved on general Hope, who completed the victory, and with great ability directed the embarkation, which recommenced about ten o'clock the same evening, and before the morning of the 18th, was completely effected.

The most vigorous efforts were now made by the French for the entire subjugation of Spain. Saragossa was taken after a
Feb. 17th,
A D. 1809. most tremendous, and, perhaps, unparalleled assault, which continued twenty-two days without intermission. Several actions took place in the different provinces with various success, but mostly to the disadvantage of the Spaniards. After the British army had embarked at Corunna, the duke of Dalmatia marched through Gallicia into Portugal, and made himself master of Oporto. But another formidable armament, consisting of above thirty thousand men, arriving from England, the generals Wellesley and Beres-

* See Neale's opinion of the character and conduct of Sir John Moore. "He was placed," says he, "in a situation the most awfully responsible that any British general has yet occupied."—*Letters from Spain and Portugal.* Letter 54. p. 333.

ford marched against the invaders. After a train of active operations, the duke of Dalmatia was compelled to retire from Portugal with considerable loss. Sir Arthur Wellesley, being thus left at liberty to march into Spain, advanced as far as Oropesa, where he formed a junction with general Cuesta, whose army consisted of about thirty-eight thousand men.* The combined British and Spanish armies then proceeded to Talavera, where they took a strong position. It extended nearly two miles: the British were stationed on the left; the Spaniards on the right, in front of the town, and stretching down to the Tagus. In this position they were attacked by the French army, consisting of about seventy thousand men, a number equal at least to that of the united English and Spaniards, and commanded by king Joseph in person, aided by the marshals Jourdan and Victor, and general Sebastiani. In the dusk of the evening the French began the engagement by a cannonade on the left, and an impetuous charge of the cavalry on the right, in order to break the Spanish infantry. But the enemy finding himself unable to make any impression on the

July 27th,
A. D. 1809.

* See general Wellington's dispatches.

Spaniards, directed all his efforts against the English. The attacks were repeated twice in the night and a third time about day-

break in the morning, but without success. About noon the French

made a general attack on the British line, and although the Spaniards had, in the commencement of the action, displayed great intrepidity, the position of their army was so important that general Wellesley did not wish them to make any movement. The British troops were, therefore, obliged to sustain the whole force of the attack. But after a sanguinary conflict the French were at length repulsed, and retired in regular order, leaving behind them seventeen pieces of cannon and some prisoners.* The enemy, however, kept a rear guard of ten thousand men on the heights on the left of the Alberoke till the night of the 31st of July. And the extreme fatigue of the troops, the want of provisions, and the great number of wounded, prevented the British army from making any movement; although brigadier-general Crauford had joined it with his brigade the day after the

* The loss of the French is estimated at 10,000: that of the English is stated, in the returns, at 5,367, among whom were several officers of high rank and distinguished merit. See lord Wellington's dispatches, 29th July, 1809.

battle.* The news of this brilliant action excited great joy in England: the honours of the peerage, with the title of lord Wellington, were conferred on general Sir Arthur Wellesley, who, by his subsequent as well as his former conduct, has shewn himself worthy of those marks of distinction. A few days after the battle, his lordship put his army in motion in the design of attacking the duke of Dalmatia before he could join mareschal Victor, leaving general Cuesta to defend the position of Talavera. But the Spanish commander having received information that the duke of Dalmatia was too strong for the English, followed lord Wellington, in order to effect a junction. Mareschal Victor, advancing at the same time in the rear of the Spaniards, the British general crossed the Tagus in order to avoid being inclosed between two hostile armies. The wounded were left at Talavera, and fell into the hands of the enemy. A variety of circumstances induced lord Wellington to retreat to Badajoz, where, from sickness and other causes, the army remained several months in a state of inactivity.

During these military operations on the continent, the navy of Great Britain was

* Lord Wellington's dispatches, Aug. 1st, 1809.

employed in a great variety of expeditions. In the beginning of the year, the French settlement of Cayenne surrendered to an English and Portuguese force. And the island of Martinique was soon after conquered by the British arms.* Since the memorable action of Trafalgar, the fleets of the enemy had not dared to appear on the ocean. The British seamen, therefore, met with few opportunities of acquiring fresh laurels; but their dauntless and successful attack on a French squadron in Basque roads, showed that no difficulties could overcome their enterprising spirit. This daring exploit was performed on the 12th and 13th of April, under the orders of admiral lord Gambier: the direction of the fire-ships, &c. was committed to captain lord Cochrane, who distinguished himself greatly on this occasion. The British vessels, advancing under a tremendous fire from the batteries of the isle of Aix, destroyed four of the French ships, and forced seven others on shore at the mouth of the Charente.

About the end of September, a small English squadron having sailed from Messina, recovered from the French the islands of

* Cayenne surrendered on the 14th January, and Martinique on the 27th February, 1809.

Zanté, Cephalonia, Ithaca, &c. and re-established the septinsular republic. A gallant action was also performed on the 1st of November: a squadron from Toulon, with supplies for the French garrison of Barcelona, was destroyed, in the bay of Rosas, by detachments from lord Collingwood's fleet in the Mediterranean.*

But the most important expedition undertaken by Great Britain, except that to Portugal and Spain, was the unfortunate attempt on the Batavian province of Zeeland. Its objects were the destruction of the French fleet in the Scheldt, the conquest of the island of Walcheren, and, if possible, of the city of Antwerp, as well as a powerful diversion in favour of Austria; which at the time when the project was formed and the armament prepared, was engaged in an arduous and doubtful contest with France. This armament, consisting of a powerful fleet, and between thirty and forty thousand land forces, under the command of lord Chatham, was one of the most formidable that had ever been sent out from Great Britain; but its destination was to a quarter where it was impossible to make any effectual impression. The state of affairs on the continent had also

* For the particulars, see admiral lord Collingwood's dispatches of the 30th October and the 1st November, 1809.

undergone a sudden and unfavourable alteration. When the British armament proceeded to the Scheldt, the contest between France and Austria was already decided. The military state of the country was found to be very different from what it had been represented; and the commander soon learned that Antwerp, instead of being almost defenceless, was completely fortified. The fort of Lillo, and others on the banks of the Scheldt, were also in the best state of defence, and Bergen-op-Zoom, and other fortresses, were ready to pour their garrisons on the invaders. The British general, and the other military and naval commanders, performed all that was possible in such unfavourable circumstances. Their attack on the island of Walcheren suc-

ceeded; and Flushing, after a short but vigorous siege, surrendered to the British arms. But the circumstances of the country, and the accumulation of the French and Batavian forces, rendered all further progress dangerous, and ultimate success impossible. According to the French accounts, all the departments were in arms: 150,000 of the national guards had put themselves in motion: 25,000 troops drawn from the depots, were assembled in Flanders; and the gens d'armes formed a corps of choice

cavalry.* The season of the year was also an insurmountable obstacle to success, in a country where the autumn is extremely insalubrious to the natives, and still more so to strangers. A malignant fever broke out among the British troops, and made terrible ravages. The armament, therefore, having left a strong garrison in Flushing, returned to England. But the sickness continuing to rage among the troops left behind, with such violence as to threaten their total destruction, the British government judiciously resolved to abandon the island of Walcheren; and about the middle of December the troops were withdrawn from its pestilential shores.

Ever since the affair of the Chesapeake, Great Britain had been on bad terms with America; and the orders in council of November, 1807, though evidently occasioned by the Berlin decree, had contributed to keep up the misunderstanding. But during a great part of this year, negotiations were carried on for the re-establishment of commercial intercourse between the two countries. On an intimation from Mr. Erskine, the British ambassador, that the orders in council would be speedily revoked, the congress seemed

* Exposé of the situation of France, Dec. 12, 1809.

perfectly satisfied, and the president issued a proclamation for renewing the trade with Great Britain. Numbers of American vessels proceeded to the British ports, and the British manufacturers expected a lucrative market for their merchandise. But there appears to have been some mysterious mistake in the negociation, which the British government deemed it expedient to rectify. Mr. Erskine was recalled, and succeeded by Mr. Jackson, whose mission proved unsuccessful; and the revival of the prohibitory laws again put a stop to all commercial intercourse between America and Great Britain.*

A. D. 1810. The commencement of this year was marked by the capture of Guadaloupe, and of the Dutch islands of St. Martin and St. Eustatius by the English. By these conquests, Great Britain extinguished the power of France and Batavia in the West Indies. But she had soon to lament the loss of one of her greatest naval com-

* On the 5th Jan. 1809, peace was concluded between Great Britain and the Ottoman Porte. On the 10th of May, Gustavus IV. king of Sweden, was deposed. A peace was soon after concluded between Sweden, Denmark, and Russia; and the Swedish ports were shut against the British trade. On the 9th April, the war began between France and Austria, and was ended by the total defeat of the Austrians at Wagram, on the 6th and 7th of July. In the beginning of the year, a rupture took place between Russia and the Ottoman Porte. On the 16th of December, the emperor of the French and his consort separated by mutual consent.

manders. Admiral lord Collingwood, the
March 7th, worthy successor of Nelson, died of
A. D. 1810. a lingering disease, at his station off
Toulon, to the great regret of his country.*

At this period, a new scene attracted the public attention, and excited some commotions in the British metropolis. Sir Francis Burdett, one of the representatives of the city of Westminster, having addressed to his constituents a letter containing some expressions which the House of Commons considered as a breach of its privileges, was arrested by virtue of a warrant from the speaker, and conveyed to the Tower. He refused to acknowledge the legality of the warrant; and his arrest excited a popular tumult, in which some mischief was done, and a few lives were lost by the firing of the military.

The French carried on their operations in Spain with rapid success. Having forced the passes of the Sierra Morena, they made themselves masters of the provinces of Grenada and Andalusia. The large and opulent city of Seville being divided into factions, and in a state of confusion, surrendered without making any resistance. And the junta, as their

* On the 16th March, Zealand, Dutch Brabant, and the territory between the Meuse and the Waal, were annexed to France. On the 1st April, the emperor of the French celebrated his nuptials with the princess Maria Louisa of Austria, daughter of the emperor Francis II.

last refuge, retired to Cadiz—a city which, from its insular situation, might, when protected by a British fleet, bid defiance to the attacks of the enemy. In the mean while, general Massena took the command of the grand army of France, and menaced Portugal. Lord Wellington having put his army in motion, in order to cover that country, took an exceedingly strong position at Celerico de la Guarda. The French having a superiority of numbers, employed every stratagem to draw the British and Portuguese army* from its position in the mountains, and, in this view, undertook, successively, the sieges of Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida. Both these places made a vigorous defence; but at length were compelled to surrender. But no devices of the enemy could induce lord Wellington to hazard an action under disadvantageous circumstances; and during the whole of this campaign, his lordship distinguished himself as much by his prudence, as he had formerly done by his courage and enterprising genius. Two of the ablest military commanders in the world, were now opposed to each other, and it was extremely difficult to either to gain any advantage by generalship. At length,

* General Beresford had, in the preceding year, been appointed, by the Prince Regent, commander in chief of the Portuguese army.

after various feints and manœuvres, the prince of Esling,* with a division of 20,000 men, ^{Sept. 27th, A. D. 1810} attacked the combined British and Portuguese armies on the summit of the Sierra de Busaco, apparently with the design of turning their left with his main body. The attempt, however, completely failed. The French were repulsed with the loss of two thousand killed, and a great number of wounded: among the latter were two of their generals. One general, three colonels, thirty-three other officers, and two hundred and fifty privates, were made prisoners.† And a few days afterwards, colonel Trant, with a body of English and Portuguese, took above four thousand prisoners at Coimbra. The British general, after this action, retired towards Lisbon, and took an impregnable position at Torres Vedras, with his right extending towards the Tagus. The prince of Esling followed his movements, and encamped directly in his front.

While the armies of Great Britain and France were thus employed, one for the pro-

* Massena was first created duke of Rivoli, and afterwards prince of Esling, in honour of his bravery on the banks of the Danube.

† The loss of the English in killed, wounded, and missing, was only 631—and that of the Portuguese, 602. In this action the Portuguese displayed the greatest possible courage, even in charging with the bayonet. See lord Wellington's dispatches of Oct. 14th, 1809.

tection, the other for the conquest of Portugal, the enfeebled state of the enemy's navy rendered the maritime war necessarily barren of important events. Some gallant actions, however, afforded additional proofs of the daring spirit of British seamen; and some distant expeditions were undertaken with astonishing success. The Batavian island of Amboyna, in the East Indies, surrendered to a small British force almost without resistance. But the 8th of August was distinguished by a still more valuable conquest. The island of Banda was taken by the captains Rench and Cole, with a body of only one hundred and eighty men. Having carried the batteries and the citadel by assault, they prepared to storm fort Nassau and the town, when the garrison, consisting of seven hundred regular troops and three hundred militia, surrendered at discretion, exhibiting a striking contrast between British valour and Batavian cowardice. The year closed with the reduction of the important islands of Bourbon and Mauritius, by a British armament under the command of admiral Bertie and major-general Abercrombie. The Mauritius, or the Isle de France, had been deemed secure against every mode of attack, by the reefs which surround every part of the coast, and render the landing

of an enemy extremely difficult. But all these obstacles were surmounted by the diligence and skill of the naval officers;* and the debarkation being successfully effected, the army, after compelling an advanced corps of the enemy to retire, marched forward to Port Louis, recently named Port Napoleon, which, with the whole island, surrendered
Dec. 3rd, A. D. 1810. by capitulation. In the harbour were found six frigates, one sloop of war, two brigs, and five gun-brigs, two English East Indiamen which had been captured, and twenty-eight merchant vessels, of various burdens, from one hundred and fifty to a thousand tons. The ordnance consisted of one hundred and seventy-eight pieces of cannon and thirty-one mortars. The loss of the conquerors amounting to no more than twenty-six killed, eighty wounded, and forty-five missing, was surprisingly small considering the importance of the acquisition. Port Louis has an excellent harbour, and Mauritius may be considered as the Malta of that part of the world. It has been computed that the cruisers, from this island, have taken from the British East India company, property to

* See general Abercrombie's dispatch to the right honourable lord Milot and the earl of Liverpool, dated Port Louis, Dec. 7th, 1810.

the amount of five millions sterling since the short-lived peace of Amiens. But as the conquest of Banda transfers the whole of the nutmeg trade from the Dutch to the English, that of Mauritius has extinguished the power of the French in the African and Indian seas.

A. D. 1811. The close of the preceding and the commencement of the present year have been marked by events of a nature peculiarly distressing to British feelings. His majesty, George III. after having reigned above fifty years, beloved and revered by his subjects, was seized with a dangerous disorder, which, together with his advanced age, rendered it expedient to exonerate him of the cares of royalty. After several weeks spent in anxious expectation of his recovery, and in parliamentary debates on the subject of a regency, it was at length resolved that his royal highness the prince of Wales should be requested to accept that high office. A number of regulations being made, the prince accepted the regency, and his administration has hitherto been extremely successful.

The war in the peninsula was carried on with considerable vigour, and with various success. On the 2d January, the French general Suchet made himself master of Tortosa; and, on the 23d of the same month,

marshal Soult took possession of Olivenca. On the same day, Spain sustained a great loss in the death of the brave marquis de Romana, who suddenly expired at his headquarters at Cartaxo. And, within less than a month, his corps, of which the command had devolved on general Mendizabel, was totally defeated by marshal Soult.

Amidst these successes, the French arms received a check in the brilliant action which March 5, A. D. 1811. took place on the heights of Barrosa, near the Isla de Leon. An expedition sailed from Cadiz, on the 25th February, under the command of lieutenant-general Graham, who disembarked a body of English, Spaniards, and Portuguese, at Alge-siras. The object of this armament was to attack the French, who were employed in the siege of Cadiz; and the landing being effected on the 28th, the allied army arrived, on the morning of the 5th March, on the low ridge of Barrosa, about four miles to the southward of the mouth of the river Santi Petri. This ridge extends inland about a mile and a half, continuing on the north the extensive heathy plain of Chiclana. A large forest of pines, skirting the plain, and encircling the height at some distance, terminated at the river, the intermediate space between the north side of

the height and the forest being uneven and broken ground. In this situation, general Graham and the Spanish commander, general La Penas, found that circumstances obliged them to attack the French army, commanded by marshal Victor, and consisting of about 8000 men, formed in two divisions. A well conducted and successful attack on the rear of the enemy's lines near Santi Petri, by the vanguard of the Spaniards, under brigadier-general Ladrizabel, opened the communication with the Isla de Leon. General Graham then moved down from the position of Barrosa to the Torre de Bermesa, about the half way to the Santi Petri, in order to secure the communication across that river, over which a bridge had been recently constructed. This position occupied a narrow woody ridge, the right extending to the sea, the left falling down to the Almanza creek, on the edge of a marsh. While making this movement, general Graham received notice that the enemy had appeared in force on the plain of Chiclana, and was advancing towards the heights of Barrosa. The British commander considering that position as the key to Santi Petri, immediately made a counter-march, in order to support the troops left for its defence. But before this corps could completely disentangle it less

from the wood, the troops on the ridge of Barrosa were seen retiring, while the left wing of the enemy was rapidly ascending. At the same time, his right wing was posted on the plain at the edge of the wood. A retreat in the face of an enemy superior in numbers, and in such a position, would have exposed the allies to great danger. General Graham, therefore, relying on the courage of the British troops, regardless of the number and position of the enemy, determined on an immediate attack. Major Duncan opened a powerful battery of ten guns on the enemy's centre. Brigadier-general Dilkes, with the brigade of guards, lieutenant-colonel Brown's flank battalion, lieutenant-colonel Norcott's two companies of the second rifle corps, and major Acheson, with a part of the 67th foot, (separated from the regiment in the wood) formed on the right. Colonel Wheatley's brigade, with three companies of the Coldstream guards, under lieutenant-colonel Jackson, (separated likewise from his battalion in the wood) and lieutenant-colonel Barnard's flank battalion formed on the left. As soon as the infantry was thus hastily arranged, the artillery advanced to a more favourable position, and kept up a most destructive fire. The right wing proceeded to the attack of

general Rufin's division on the hill, while lieutenant-colonel Barnard's battalion, and lieutenant-colonel Bushe's detachment of Portuguese, were warmly engaged with the enemy's tirailleurs. At the same time, general Laval's division, notwithstanding the havoc made by major Duncan's battery, advanced in very imposing masses, opening a heavy fire of musketry. The left wing of the British now advanced, keeping up a constant fire; and a most determined charge by the three companies of guards, and the 67th regiment, supported by all the remainder of the wing, decided the defeat of general Laval's division. The eagle of the 8th regiment of light infantry, which suffered exceedingly, was taken by major Gough. The attacks were strenuously supported by colonel Belson and lieutenant-colonel Prevost. The right wing of the British was equally successful: the enemy met general Dilkes on the ascent of the hill, and the contest was sanguinary; but the undaunted perseverance of the brigade of guards, of lieutenant-colonel Browne's battalion, and of lieutenant-colonel Norcott's and major Acheson's detachment, surmounted every obstacle; and general Rufin's division being driven from the heights, left behind two pieces of cannon. In less

than an hour and a half from the commencement of the action, the enemy was in full retreat. But the exhausted state of the allies, after so unequal a contest, rendered pursuit impossible. The French lost on this occasion about 3000 killed, wounded, and prisoners, with one eagle, six pieces of cannon, their ammunition waggons, and a number of horses. General Bellegarde, chief of the staff, an aid-du-camp of marshal Victor, one colonel, with many other officers, were killed, and several wounded and taken: among the latter were the general of division Rufin, and the general of brigade Rousseau, who soon after died of his wounds. The loss of the English amounted to about 1243 killed and wounded, among whom were several valuable officers.* The number of French engaged in this action was not less than 8000, all of them well appointed, in a high state of discipline, and ably commanded: the English were only 3000, and the whole allied force did not amount to 6000: nothing less than the greatest exertions, and the invincible bravery of every officer and soldier, could have been successful against so formidable an enemy, occupying so ad-

* Sir R. Keats very ably seconded the operations of the army on this occasion; and a small body of seamen and marines stormed and dismantled the works of the enemy at the mouth of the Guadalete.

vantageous a position. General Graham finding it impossible to procure supplies, withdrew the day following across the Santi Petri, and afterwards returned to Cadiz.

About the same time that general Graham obtained this glorious victory, general Massena began his retreat from Santarem, where he had never been able to attack lord Wellington with any prospect of success. On the 11th March, the vanguard of lord Wellington attacked Massena's rear near Pombal, and drove it from its position. But this success of the allies was more than counterbalanced by the loss of Badajoz, which, on the same day, surrendered to marshal Soult after a vigorous resistance.

While these military transactions took place, the honour of the British flag was gallantly supported in a naval engagement, which, although on a smaller scale, was scarcely less glorious than those of the Nile and Trafalgar. A French and Italian squadron, consisting of five frigates, one corvette, one brig, two schooners, one gun-boat, and one xebec, with 500 troops on board, sailed, on the 11th March, from Ancona, and on the 13th, fell in with captain Hoste, who had under his command four small ships of war carrying, in the whole, 880 men and 124 guns.

The hostile squadron had 272 guns and 2665 men, including the 500 land forces intended to garrison the island of Lissa. Relying on this superiority of strength, the enemy, on descrying the British squadron, formed in two divisions, and instantly bore down to the attack. The British line, led by captain Hoste, in the *Amphion*, of 32 guns and 254 men, was formed by signal in the closest order for their reception. At nine, A. M. the action commenced. The conflict was extremely sanguinary; but, after continuing till three, P. M. it terminated in the total defeat of the enemy's squadron: two of their frigates were taken: their commodore's vessel ran ashore, and blew up; and another of their frigates struck, but afterwards escaped. Their commander, M. Dubourdieu, a member of the legion of honour, was killed in the action, after a display of intrepidity and skill which greatly redounded to his honour, and rendered the success of the British more glorious. This brilliant victory was obtained with the loss of 50 officers and seamen killed, and 150 wounded.*

The grand French army, under general

* In this, and the following year, many other brilliant exploits were performed by our naval officers, of which the limits of this compendium do not permit a particular mention.

Massena, continuing its retreat through Portugal, was closely pursued by lord Wellington. On the 25th March, general Beresford attacked the advanced guard of marshal Mortier, and pursued it to the gates of Badajoz. On the 3d April, lord Wellington attacked the rear of Massena's army; and, after a spirited conflict, the French position was carried by the bayonet. General Beresford forced Olivenca to capitulate on the 15th of April.* And, on the 3d of May, lord Wellington was attacked by Massena in his position of Fuente de Honore. In the commencement of the action the French gained some advantages; but were at length obliged to repass the Agueda, without being able to throw a body of troops into Almeida, which appears to have been their object. On the night of the 10th of May, the garrison of Almeida succeeded in evacuating the place, and blowing up the fortifications, in view of the English army.

Numerous skirmishes took place between the out-posts of the French and allied armies: the former in rapid retreat—the latter in full pursuit: such being ordinary occurrences of

* On the 10th April, the Catalonians took Figueras by surprise, having maintained an intelligence with the Italian troops in the place. They are said to have put all the French to the sword.

war, cannot claim any ample space in history.* But an action of very considerable importance took place between general Beresford and marshal Soult. On the 8th May, general Beresford had invested Badajoz, and repelled, though not without some loss, the sorties of the garrison. But the siege was scarcely commenced before the British commander received intelligence from general Blake that marshal Soult had left Seville on the 10th with 15,000 men, and was marching to the relief of Badajoz. On the night of the 12th of May he again received information from different quarters of the rapid advance of the French general, which left no room to doubt of his intentions. In consequence of this advice general Beresford immediately suspended his operations against Badajoz, removed the battering cannon and stores to Elvas, and being joined, on the 14th, by the Spanish generals Blake and Castanos, he prepared to meet the enemy. In the afternoon of the 15th the duke of Dalmatia† appeared in front of the allies with a force of about 20,000 men, having been joined, in his march,

* General Massena conducted his retreat in the most able manner; but the desolation which marked his route tarnished the glory of his military character.

† Marshal Soult.

by 5,000 troops, which composed the corps of general Latour Maubourg. On the morning of the 16th the allied army completed its dispositions for receiving the enemy, being formed in two lines on a rising ground, running nearly parallel to the small river Albuera.* The French general did not long delay the attack: at eight o'clock his army was observed to be in motion; and his cavalry was seen passing the river at some distance above the right of the allies. Shortly after he moved a strong force of cavalry and two heavy columns of infantry directly towards their front, as if to attack the village and bridge of Albuera. At the same time he was filing the principal body of his infantry over the river to the right, under cover of his cavalry, which was greatly superior to that of the allies; and it soon appeared to be his intention to turn their right flank. At

May 16th,
A. D. 1811. nine o'clock he began the attack, which was bravely sustained by the allies. The conflict was extremely sanguinary, and the various attacks and evolutions displayed, on both sides, great intrepidity and consummate skill. The British, Spanish, and Portuguese troops valiantly and glori-

* Several of the Spanish corps, although they made forced marches, were not able to join the army till the middle of the night preceding the battle. See general Beresford's letter dated May 18th, 1811.

ously maintained the honour of their respective countries. After a well contested day victory declared for the allies. But general Beresford, considering his inferiority in cavalry, did not think it prudent to hazard a pursuit, and contented himself with driving the French across the Albuera. This brilliant victory cost the allies no fewer than 4537 men killed, wounded, and missing, among whom were many officers of merit and distinction.* The enemy had five generals killed or wounded, and his loss was estimated at nearly 9000 men killed, wounded, and taken. Marshal Soult retired to the ground which he had occupied previous to the battle, and on the morning of the 18th began his retreat to Seville, leaving Badajoz to its fate. That important fortress was again invested by general Beresford; and lord Wellington advanced with the grand army to superintend the operations. The British general made two unsuccessful assaults on the fort of St. Christoval; and about the middle of June he found it expedient to raise the siege in consequence of the junction of the two armies of Soult and Marmont.

* The loss of the Spanish corps under general Blake, which was very severe, is not included.

The operations of the Spaniards, in other parts of the kingdom, were marked with disaster. On the 28th of June general Suchet took Terragona by assault. On the 1st of July general Blake was repulsed by the French in an attack on Niebla. On the 9th of August the duke of Dalmatia defeated the army of Murcia in the neighbourhood of Baza; but on the 14th the Spaniards surprised the French in Santander. On the 19th of the same month Figueras was retaken by the French general Macdonald, after a long and very difficult blockade; and on the 25th general Dorsenne defeated the Spanish general Abadia in the vicinity of Astorga.

While such was the fluctuating state of the war in Spain, Great Britain was making an important and splendid acquisition in a remote quarter of the globe. An expedition was fitted out by lord Minto, governor general of India, for the reduction of the island of Java. The squadron was commanded by rear-admiral Stopford, and the army by general Sir Samuel Auchmuty. The landing was effected on the 4th of August, without opposition, at the village of Chillingworth, twelve miles to the east of the city of Batavia. The first step of the British general was to reconnoitre the road by the coast leading to

the city, as he understood that if it were well defended it would be nearly impracticable. On advancing with the troops, however, he met with no hostile force to oppose his progress; and the only obstacle was occasioned by the destruction of the bridge over the Anjol river. He approached that river on the 6th, and observing, in the evening, a great fire in Batavia, he concluded that the enemy was about to evacuate the city.* Under this impression he directed the advance of the army, under colonel Gillespie, to pass the river in boats during the succeeding night. The British troops lodged themselves in the suburbs of Batavia; and on the morning of the 8th a temporary bridge was hastily constructed, and made capable of supporting light artillery. On that day the burghers applied for protection and surrendered the city without opposition, the garrison having retired to Weltevreedē. And on the following day, the advanced guard, under

Aug. 9th,
A. D. 1811. colonel Gillespie, took possession of Batavia, which had so long been the capital of the Dutch possessions in the east, and was equally famed for commerce, opulence, and strength.

* They burned a great part of their stores in the city.

Early the next morning general Auchmuty ordered colonel Gillespie, with his corps, to move from Batavia towards the enemy's cantonment at Weltevrede. The cantonment was abandoned; but the enemy were in force a little beyond it, and about two miles in advance of their works at Cornelis. Their position was strong and defended by an Abatis occupied by 3000 of their best troops and four pieces of artillery. Colonel Gillespie made the attack with great spirit and judgment, and, after an obstinate resistance, carried the position at the point of the bayonet.

Although the British forces had hitherto been successful even beyond their most sanguine expectation, their further progress became extremely difficult. The enemy's army, greatly superior in numbers, was intrenched in a strong position between the great river Jacatra and the Sloken, an artificial water-course, neither of which were fordable. This position was inclosed by a deep trench, strongly palisadoed: seven redoubts and many batteries mounted with heavy cannon, occupied the most commanding grounds within the lines. The fort of Cornelis was in the centre, and all the works were defended by a numerous and well organized artillery. The excessive heat of the season, and the insuffi-

cient numbers of the British troops, precluding the expediency of making regular approaches, general Auchmuty resolved on an immediate assault. Preparatory to this measure, he erected some batteries, in order to disable the principal redoubts, and, during two days, kept up a heavy fire from twenty 18-pounders, and eight mortars and howitzers. The enemy, at the same time, brought thirty-four heavy guns, 18, 24, and 32-pounders, to bear on the English batteries. But by the well directed fire of the British seamen, the enemy's guns were, on the evening of the 25th, completely silenced.

At the dawn of day on the 26th, the assault was made. The enemy was prepared for the combat, and general Jansens, the commander in chief, was in the redoubt where it commenced. Colonel Gillespie advancing under a tremendous fire of grape shot and musketry, carried with the bayonet one of the redoubts. Colonel Gibbs assaulted and carried another in the same manner; but, at the instant of its capture, a tremendous explosion of the magazine of this work, (whether accidental or designed is not known) destroyed a number of the officers and men, who were crowded on the rampart just abandoned by the enemy. Another redoubt was assaulted and carried

by lieutenant-colonel M'Leod, who fell in the very moment of victory. The front of the enemy's position was now open, and the troops rushed in from every quarter. The cavalry and horse artillery forced a passage through the lines, the fort of Cornelis was carried, and the whole of the enemy's army was killed, taken, or dispersed. About 5000 prisoners were taken, among whom were three generals, thirty-four field officers, and seventy captains. There were found in the citadel of Batavia, the arsenal at Weltevrede, the fort of Cornelis, and on the batteries, 209 brass guns, 35 brass mortars, 19 brass howitzers, 504 iron guns, and 743 brass cannon and mortars. The loss of the English was comparatively small, scarcely amounting to 900 killed and wounded. General Jansen, with about fifty horse, the remnant of an army of 10,000 men, fled into the interior. The other possessions of the enemy were soon reduced, and the British dominion was firmly established in the island of Java, a conquest which wholly extinguished the French and Batavian power in the East Indies.

In Spain lord Wellington formed the blockade of Ciudad Rodrigo on the 4th of September; but on the 25th he retired from before the place. The rear of the English was at-

tacked by the advanced guard of the duke of Ragusa. But the infantry forming a square, and displaying a firm front, retreated without being broken. On the 27th the British army quitted its intrenched camp at Fuente Guinaldo: the rear-guard was attacked near Aldea de Ponte, but the French were soon forced to retire. On the 28th of October, general Hill, who had under his command a division of the allied army, by a series of bold and skilful manœuvres, surprised and completely routed a French column commanded by general Girard.

About this time disastrous events took place in the eastern parts of Spain. Mareschal Suchet took the town of Murviedro; and on the 29th of September he invested the castle which is built on the ruins of the ancient Saguntum. He was attacked by the Spaniards under general Blake on the 25th of October. The French were victorious, and on the following day the castle surrendered by capitulation. On the 26th of December Mareschal Suchet passed the Guadalaviar, defeated the Spaniards, and compelled general Blake to shut himself up in Valencia.*

* On the 26th October the Baron d'Eroles defeated the French near Paigorda.

A. D. 1812. The beginning of the year was distinguished by the raising of the siege of Tariffa, which had been bravely defended by a small garrison of English and Spaniards from the 20th of December to the 4th of January. But this success was counterbalanced by a loss severely felt by Spain. The city of Valencia, which since the 26th of December had been besieged by Mareschal Suchet, capitulated on the 9th of January. General Blake, who was shut up in the place, surrendered with an army of above 16,000 men; and immense magazines fell into the hands of the French.*

In the mean while lord Wellington, with the grand army, was not inactive. After a fortnight's siege his lordship carried Ciudad Rodrigo by assault on the 19th January, but not without considerable loss. General Crauford, an officer of distinguished merit, fell mortally wounded in the breach at the head of his troops. The Spanish generals, in the eastern parts of the kingdom, carried on the war against the common enemy with considerable vigour. The French general Montbrun was obliged to retire from before Alicant,

* Why general Blake, one of the most distinguished of all the Spanish commanders, should have imprudently shut himself up in Valencia, has never been satisfactory explained.

after an ineffectual cannonade. On the 24th of January, the French attacked general Lacy, who was posted on the heights of Altafalla, near Terragona. The Spaniards fought with great resolution and bravery; but being overwhelmed by the numbers and discipline of the French, they were at length compelled to retire to the mountains. Soon after this misfortune the town of Peniscola, a place of great strength, situated on a lofty promontory, overlooking the Mediterranean, was surrendered to the French by the treachery, it is said, of its governor. On the 16th of February, general Ballasteros attacked and defeated, near Malaga, a column of French commanded by general Maransin.

On the 16th of March, lord Wellington again laid siege to Badajoz; and, on the 31st, the besiegers opened their fire from twenty-six pieces of cannon. The operations were continued with extraordinary activity and vigour: new batteries were opened, and, in the evening of the 5th of April, practicable breaches were effected in the bastions of La Trinidad and Santa Maria. As the French were making the most formidable preparations for the defence of these breaches, the British general did not deem it expedient to precipitate the assault. He therefore ordered all

the guns of the batteries, in the second parallel, to be directed against the curtain of La Trinidad; and, in the evening of the 6th, a third breach was effected. At ten o'clock at night, the British troops advanced to the assault. Lieutenant-general Picton and major-general Kempt led the attack: the latter was wounded in crossing the river Rivellas; but, notwithstanding this misfortune, and the obstinate resistance of the enemy, the castle of Badajoz was carried by escalade, and the third division of the British army was established in it at half past eleven. In the meanwhile, major Wilson, of the 48th, carried the ravelin of St. Roque, and, with the assistance of major Squire, of the engineers, established himself in that work. The fourth division, under major-general Colville, and the light division, under lieutenant-colonel Barnard, advanced to the attack of the breaches in the bastions of La Trinidad and Santa Maria. But although the attack was made with the utmost intrepidity, such was the nature of the obstacles prepared by the enemy upon and behind the breaches, and so determined the resistance, that the British troops could not establish themselves in the place. A great number of officers and soldiers were killed or wounded by explosions at the top

of the breaches: others, succeeding them, were obliged to give way, finding it impossible to surmount the obstacles which the enemy had opposed to their progress.* These attempts were repeated, without success, till after midnight, when the commander in chief ordered the two divisions to retire to the ground on which they had assembled for the attack. During these transactions, major-general Walker forced the barrier on the road of Olivenca, and entered the covered way on the left of the bastion of St. Vincente, close to the Guadiana. He there descended into the ditch, and escalated the bastion; lieutenant-general Leith, supporting this attack with the 38th regiment, under lieutenant-colonel Nugent, and the 15th Portuguese regiment, under lieutenant-colonel de Rigoa. After these operations, the fourth and light divisions being formed again for the assault of the breaches, the governor, general Philipon, surrendered the place. The garrison, consisting of about 4000 men, remained prisoners of war. The return of ordnance found in the place was 133 brass guns, 19 brass mortars, 20 howitzers, 5,481 muskets with bayonets, besides an immense quantity of

* Lord Wellington's dispatches, April 7th, 1812.

powder, balls, shot, shells, and materials for making gun carriages. The capture of Badajoz shed an additional lustre over the arms of the allies; but the triumph was purchased at the expence of 4825 British and Portuguese killed and wounded in the siege and assault.

The joy which the British nation felt at the success of its arms, was damped by a domestic occurrence of a singular and melancholy nature. On the 11th of May, the chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Perceval, was assassinated in the lobby of the House of Commons. A little after five o'clock, the minister had come down for the purpose of giving his usual attendance in the house, and just as he entered the lobby, the assassin, John Bellingham, who had taken his station on the side of the door next to the fire-place, presented a pistol to his left breast, and shot him through the heart. Mr. Perceval staggered two or three steps, exclaimed "murder," and fell. An instantaneous agitation and alarm pervaded the house, and all the passages. The business, which was the examination of witnesses relative to the orders in council, was suspended. Orders were given to shut all the outside doors, and that nobody should be suffered to pass, except members or officers belonging to the house. Mr. Perceval

was then carried into an apartment on one side of the lobby, and a messenger was dispatched for medical assistance. In the mean while, the assassin was secured. He made no resistance, but acknowledged the crime. On his trial it appeared that he had been detained a prisoner at Archangel, and afterwards at St. Petersburg, for a fictitious debt, and that after his return to England, not meeting with the redress which he expected from his majesty's ministers, he determined on revenge. The assassin was tried and condemned on the 15th May, and on the 16th, he was executed, meeting his fate with a fortitude and resignation worthy of a better cause. Whatever might be the difference of opinion respecting Mr. Perceval's measures as a minister, his private character was a subject of universal applause: the whole nation expressed sentiments of horror at the catastrophe which terminated his mortal career; and parliament made an ample provision for his family.

From this fatal consequence of the diabolical passion of revenge, the public attention was called to more animating scenes. In Spain a brilliant achievement was performed by general Hill, who commanded a separate division of the allied army. That able and enterprising officer, after a march of seven

days through a mountainous and difficult country, took Almaraz by assault, destroyed the enemy's works, and on the 19th of May returned to his position.

The capture of Badajoz had left lord Wellington at liberty to proceed into the interior of Spain. Having advanced, almost without opposition, to Salamanca, the British army made its entry into that city, amidst the plaudits and benedictions of the inhabitants. There were in Salamanca three forts, in which the French had left garrisons: of these St. Cayatano was taken by assault; La Mercede by escalade, and St. Vicente surrendered by capitulation on the 27th of June. A grand scene of operations was soon after opened. The French army, now commanded by the duke of Ragusa,* the prince of Esling† being recalled to Paris, passed the Douro on the evening of the 16th July. A series of intricate movements commenced. The French recrossed the Douro at Toro in the night of the 16th, and moved with their whole force to Tordesillas, where they again crossed that river on the morning of the 17th, and assembled their army at La Nava del Rey, having marched not less than thirty miles in

* General Marmont.

† General Massena.

the course of the day. It would far exceed the limits of this compendium to detail all the different movements of the two armies previous to the battle of Salamanca. It suffices to say, that in the afternoon of the 21st both the armies crossed the Tormes, the French by the fords between Alba de Tormes and Huerta, the allies by the bridge of Salamanca and the fords in the neighbourhood. The British general placed his troops in a position, of which the right was upon one of the two heights called Dos Arapiles, and the left on the Tormes below the ford of Santa Martha.* During the night the enemy took possession of the village of Calvarosa de Ariba, and of the height near it called Neustra Senora de la Pena, the British cavalry being in possession of Calvarosa de Abaxo. Soon after day-light the next morning detachments from both armies attempted to obtain possession of the more distant of the two heights of Arapiles. That point was gained by the French, which materially strengthened their position and increased their means of annoying the allies. This circumstance induced lord Wellington to make some alterations in his position; but from the various

* Each army had left a considerable body of troops on the right of the Tormes. Lord Wellington's dispatch, July 24th, 1812.

and complicated movements of the enemy it was extremely difficult to form a satisfactory judgment of his intentions.

After a variety of evolutions the duke of Ragusa appears to have determined on his plan; about two in the afternoon, July 22nd, A. D. 1812. under cover of a very heavy cannonade, he extended his left and moved forward his army. This extension of his line to the left, although his troops still occupied a strong position well defended by cannon, afforded the British general an opportunity of directing his attacks, of which he did not fail to take advantage. The action soon became general; and after a variety of attacks, repulses and evolutions, which continued until night, the French were entirely routed. Although the darkness of the night was very favourable to the flying enemy, the number of prisoners amounted to about 7000, among whom were one general, three colonels, three lieutenant-colonels, and 130 officers of inferior rank. Two eagles, six colours, 11 pieces of cannon, and several ammunition waggons fell into the hands of the victors. The loss of the allies amounted to 5220 killed, wounded, and missing:* that of the enemy, though not

* In this action the Portuguese displayed great bravery and sustained great loss, their killed and wounded being not less than 1866. See the returns.

ascertained, must have been much more considerable.* The surrender of Madrid, to the allies, was one of the first consequences of this important victory.†

Soon after the battle of Salamanca lord Wellington advanced to Burgos. The allies succeeded in making themselves masters of some of the outworks, but failed in all their attempts against the castle, and at length raised the siege after sustaining a considerable loss. This was the last military transaction of importance that took place between the English and the French this year in the peninsula. The different Spanish corps, however, had various skirmishes with the enemy, and were often successful; and the guerillas carried on their desultory operations with unremitting activity. During the autumn, the French, who had long but ineffectually besieged Cadiz, broke up from before that place, evacuated Seville, Cordova, Grenada, and all the south of Spain, and the subsequent movements of their different armies seemed to indicate an intention of

* The duke of Ragusa, (general Marmont) was severely wounded early in the action.

† Joseph Bonaparte had marched from Madrid on the 21st of July, with a strong body of troops, it was said of 2,000 horse and 12,000 foot, in order to join general Marmont; but on receiving intelligence of the defeat at Salamanca, he marched towards Segovia.

concentrating their force on the north side of the Ebro. A decree of the regency and the Cortez constituted lord Wellington generalissimo of the Spanish armies. His lordship had been previously created earl and afterwards marquis of Wellington and duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, titles which he had nobly earned. No honours, indeed, could be too great to bestow on a commander who had baffled all the schemes of the ablest generals of France.

Ever since the issuing of the orders in council, the relations between Great Britain and America had been in a state approaching to hostility, and an action which took place between commodore Rogers and an English frigate, an affair similar to that of the Chesapeake, contributed to widen the breach. Negotiations, however, continued during the greatest part of the summer: the orders in council were suspended; but this did not satisfy the Americans, who complained of the impressment of their seamen, and other grievances, and especially of the right claimed by Great Britain of searching their ships for deserters. On the subject of impressment, the British government was willing to afford every satisfaction, and, in no case, sanctioned the detention of American seamen, if proved to be

the subjects of the United States. But Great Britain could not accede to all the demands of America, without renouncing her long acknowledged maritime rights. After long and tedious negotiations between the two countries, the war faction and French influence in America prevailed, and the government of the United States determined on a rupture. Towards the conclusion of the year, hostilities commenced. The first attempt of the Americans was the invasion of Canada. But their operations have been feeble and unsuccessful. Their commander, general Hull, surrendered with his troops to a very inferior force.

It will not be amiss to conclude with casting a glance on the astonishing events which, in the latter part of this year, took place in the north of Europe, and which, although not within the province of British history, are of incalculable importance to British interests, as well as to those of the continent. The emperor of Russia, indignant at the ruin of the trade of his empire, disdained to submit any longer to the restrictions of the continental system established by the French emperor. This gave rise to a war between France and Russia, attended with a destruction of the human species beyond all example in modern times. About the end of June, the emperor

of the French entered the Russian territories with an army of about 300,000 men, in the highest state of equipment and discipline. After being victorious at the battles of Drissa, Mohilow, Polotsk, Valentina, and Borodino, he advanced to Moscow, and, on the 15th of September, entered that capital, and sat down on the throne of the czars. But the governor having caused the city to be set on fire, the invader found himself in the midst of smoking ruins. Napoleon fixed his head-quarters in the Kremlin, and offered peace to the Russian monarch, who rejected his proposals. In this situation, perceiving the impossibility of procuring supplies, the French emperor began his retreat on the 18th October, exposed to the incessant attacks of the Russian armies, collected from every quarter. In these bloody encounters, the French were constantly defeated; and the winter having set in somewhat prematurely, and with a severity unusual even in that rigorous climate, this immense invading army was almost totally annihilated, exhibiting a scene of slaughter and loss, unparalleled in the records of history, since the invasion of Greece by Xerxes. The emperor of the French, and his principal generals, with great difficulty escaped, and the victorious Russians continued, without opposition, their

progress towards Germany, issuing proclamations, inviting the Prussians and other states to throw off the yoke of France. The ultimate consequences of these unexpected and extraordinary events, can be distinctly foreseen only by that providence by whom they have been directed; but a change is already effected in the aspect of Europe, from which may be augured the establishment of a new order of things.

While the last sheets of this work are in the press, intelligence is received of the entrance of the Russians into Berlin, on the 4th of March, 1813, and into Ham-
burgh on the 15th, of their approach to Dresden, and the flight of the king of Saxony! Another triumph of the British arms in Canada is also announced. On the 22d of January, 1813, the American general, Winchester, attacked a British and Indian corps of 2100 men, stationed on the river Raisin, and an obstinate contest ensued. The Americans were totally routed, with the loss of about 600 killed and wounded, and nearly the same number of prisoners, among whom is their general.

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